

# THE CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

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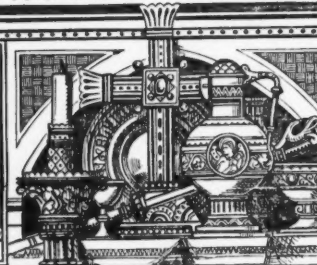
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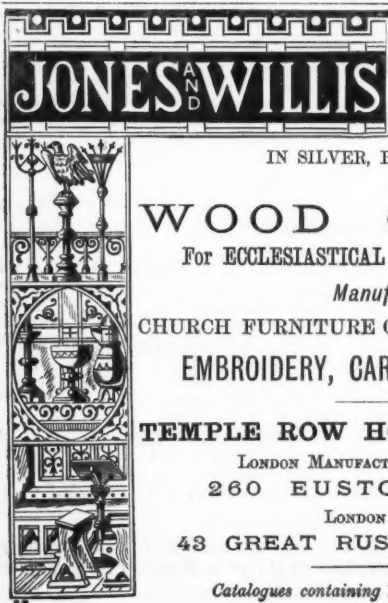
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ART. I.—SCEPTICISM OF THE DAY.—MATTHEW  
ARNOLD.

*God and the Bible. A Review of Objections to Literature and Dogma.* By MATTHEW ARNOLD, formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford and Fellow of Oriel College. (London : Smith, Elder, and Co.)

AMONG the many perplexing problems around us, which seem to justify the *dictum* of the Schoolmen that all things issue in mystery, the existence of that dense cloud of ignorance which broods over so large a portion of mankind concerning truths of the most vital and momentous character must certainly be reckoned—an ignorance which, in an immensely large proportion of cases, seems, humanly speaking, to be, for the present, simply impenetrable. Millions of our fellow-creatures, even if they recognize the fact that they have a soul at all, can do little more than address to it, in their latest hours, the plaintive inquiry of the heathen emperor of old.

Of this ignorance there appear to be three main forms. The first is that prevalent among tribes and nations which, whatever they may once have been, are at present in a savage state. But the ignorance of such persons, however gloomy to contemplate, is not of the most hopelessly sad and lamentable kind. We know indeed that many Christian teachers hold that no man can be in a state of invincible ignorance respecting the being of God ; and the stern language of the Apostle of the Gentiles may certainly seem to lend countenance to such a view. Nevertheless, the history of men's lives is not to

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the Prophet of prophets what it is to the earthly narrator. Human history, as has well been said, can only aim, after all, at being the record of what has been, not of what might have been. But a higher judgment knows more than this. It knows not only the actual, but also the possible ; knows how Tyre and Sidon would have repented in sackcloth and ashes if they had seen the mighty works which were displayed in vain before the dwellers in Chorazin and Bethsaida ; knows how even Sodom itself might have been saved from its fiery doom, had it enjoyed the lofty privileges which were fruitlessly vouchsafed to Capernaum. And at this day the mind of Christendom, as exhibited among pious believers trained in the most different atmospheres of thought, is deeply cherishing the pious hope, that the instruction withheld from such multitudes in this life may be granted to them in the intermediate state ; that He, who once went and preached to the spirits in prison may impart to those who have acted up to such light as they possessed, and who without law have done by nature the things of the law and shown that its work was written in their hearts, that fuller revelation of Himself, which in this life had never reached them.

A second species of this ignorance offers graver difficulties, if we attempt to form a judgment concerning it. We refer to the ignorance of denizens in Christian lands who, from poverty and surrounding circumstances, seem in great measure debarred from anything like education in things divine. The position of a man thus situated seems different from that of the barbarous Patagonian or Hottentot, who may have been physically removed from the very sound of the Gospel ; and yet it is possible that his darkness may often be even more intense. The local prejudices may create a sort of positive repulsion to religion, which is more antagonistic than entire lack of knowledge. Misery itself, though so often a cause of conversion to God, has in many cases proved chilling, and has, as the poet tells us, frozen the genial current of the soul. M. Droz, in his interesting little pamphlet, entitled *Aveux d'un Philosophe Chrétien*, declares his conviction that extreme poverty is a fruitful source of impiety ; that a call on people, who are in want of the absolute necessities of life, to think on God, has often been met by the terrible reply, that His existence is incompatible with so much distress ; or that, if He exists, those who neglect Him are only requiting Him for His neglect of them. Oftentimes, adds M. Droz, alms and kind counsel bestowed on such persons have succeeded in drawing them out of their crushing position—have become instruments in leading

their thoughts heavenward. Certainly acts of love towards man have well been called stepping-stones towards the love of God, and may thus become doubly blest, both to the recipient and also to the giver. On the whole, though there seems here more ground for fear, we may trust that the condition of many of these ignorant ones is practically somewhat similar to that of the citizens of heathendom, and that it may be regarded and dealt with in the same way by the Judge of all.

But the third form of this ignorance is by far the saddest and most terrible. The mystic fruit offered to Eve is represented as involving not only a temptation to the appetite and a charm for the outward power of vision, but likewise the promise of a gift of fresh and perilous knowledge; and the record of the temptations set before the second Adam in the wilderness tells not merely of one addressed to the hunger of the mortal frame, and another to the natural desire for earthly sovereignty, but it includes also that more refined and seductive snare, so specially suited to the noblest natures, of spiritual pride; the invitation to call needlessly for supernatural support, and to work a miracle—not for the glory of the Father nor the benefit of any single one of His creatures, but simply for self-display. And throughout the world's history we seem to meet with those, who have triumphed over the seductions of Belial and of Mammon, but who have not been proof against the whisperings of a subtler spirit. The craving for novelty, the wish for singularity and seeming originality, the love of influence, the fascination wrought by the sense of power over other minds—all these may become as real a peril and temptation to certain spirits as the pleasures of sense or of the more vulgar forms of ambition to others. True it is, that, in speaking thus, we by no means wish to ignore what seems to us the very just distinction between *heresis* and *heretica pravitas*. Many may have fallen into heresy, that is to say, the denial of saving truth, through sheer misfortune in training or lack of apprehension of the true meaning and correlation of sacred doctrines. 'I had barked,' writes S. Augustine, 'not against Thy truth, but against fictions of carnal men, which I mistook for Thy truth.' And thus it may be on the one hand that a man like Apollinaris,—utterly ruinous to all sound theology as would have been his notion that the divine Logos performed for our Lord the office of a rational soul,—may possibly have meant well, and have intended to show special reverence to his Saviour, though in fact there can be no real reverence which does not repose upon a basis of truth. But no one can put in this plea for Arius going

about with his partisans and asking women whether they had a son before he was born, or composing drinking songs wherein to embody and spread his miserable distortion of truth. In proportion to the power displayed, to the knowledge, the acuteness, is, in such cases, the poignancy of our regret, and our sense of the grievousness of the fall.

'For I say, this is the death and the sole death,  
When a man's loss comes to him from his gain,  
Darkness from light, from knowledge ignorance,  
And lack of love from love made manifest.'<sup>1</sup>

Yet, even in this case, who knows how much may have been due to influences, which were not under the control of the sceptic? What a picture, for instance, of external guidance and pressure towards unbelief is revealed in Mill's *Autobiography*!

And here, then, at the risk of seeming to dwell needlessly on the mere elements and alphabet of religion, we will venture to say a few words on the three principal lines of proof for the being of God—(1) the argument from design, (2) the *à priori* argument, and (3) that derived from the existence of conscience and the moral law.

1. The argument from design is certainly of all arguments the most obvious and natural, and the one most easily comprehended by the ordinary understanding. It is that which Socrates alleged, as Xenophon informs us, in his conversation with Aristodemus the Little;<sup>2</sup> to which, in modern times, Paley and so many more (as, for instance, the authors of the *Bridgewater Treatises*) have made appeal. We do not wish to forget or to conceal that it has been exposed to a sharp fire of technical objections. To say nothing of Spinoza and the Pantheistic school, so dominant in many climes for long periods of man's history, or of the Manichæans from Faustus to James Mill, or the arguments of Kant and others, we must frankly admit that men of undoubted piety, such as the Methodist, Richard Watson, and John Wesley (at least in occasional fits of youthful gloom), and, we suppose we must add, John Henry Newman, and among ourselves Mr. Baring-Gould and others, appear to have thought this argument not thoroughly conclusive, when urged against the atheistic hypothesis of eternal successions.

Yet surely it is a grave and serious responsibility for men to take upon themselves to pronounce an argument insuffi-

<sup>1</sup> Robert Browning: *A Death in the Desert*.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorabilia*, lib. i. cap. iv.



cient, which an inspired Apostle has declared to possess moral force enough to leave the heathen without excuse. 'We define God,' says Tertullian, 'as an object of knowledge primarily from nature, and subsequently as one to be known again through teaching: *by nature from His works*, by teaching through preachments.'<sup>1</sup> Such is the usual language of the early Fathers. For our own part, feeling, with a devout and most learned Anglican layman,<sup>2</sup> that no regret at the conduct and issues of the Vatican Council ought to blind us to its merits, we were glad to see it proclaiming, at the very outset, its conviction that God, the beginning and end of all things, may certainly be known by the natural lights of human reason through created things, and citing, in this connection, the language of S. Paul.<sup>3</sup> With all respect for the great and good men who seem disinclined to rest upon the argument from design, we cannot help asking whether the objections to it are of a healthy character, or whether they may not occasionally betoken the presence of a somewhat morbid and restless idiosyncrasy.

2. The *a priori* argument was first, as is well known, elaborated by S. Anselm, and subsequently employed by Descartes and Dr. Clarke. This line of reasoning has likewise been rejected by Kant. Mr. Gould, too, is dissatisfied with it, and Dr. Newman, without absolutely rejecting it, seems to think it hard to put forward in a tangible shape. We also observe a tendency in our serial literature to speak of it slightly, as if it were something gone by and ill adapted to our age.

But here, again, the language of many of our contemporaries seems to us somewhat hasty and inconsiderate. Granting, as we willingly do, that this line of reasoning is not one suited for an utterly uneducated audience, we yet think that it has considerably more force than it seems the fashion to admit just now, and that it is capable of being presented in forms which prove thoroughly interesting to hearers and readers who have enjoyed a fair modicum of culture, and who are accustomed to give at least some little occasional exercise to their reasoning powers. We have here, we believe, on our side both Archbishop Thomson and the late Bishop Thirlwall,

<sup>1</sup> 'Nos definimus Deum primò naturâ cognoscendum, dehinc doctrinâ recognoscendum: *naturâ ex operibus*, doctrinâ ex prædicationibus.'—*Adv. Marc.* i. 18 (cited by Klee, *Dogmatik*, part ii. chap. i.)

<sup>2</sup> Lord Crawford, in his *Æcumenicity*.

<sup>3</sup> 'Eadem sancta Mater Ecclesia tenet et docet, Deum rerum omnium principium et finem, naturali humanæ rationis lumine è rebus creatis certò cognosci posse' (Rom. i. 20 is then quoted).—Cap. ii., *De Revelatione*.

certainly, in such a matter, authorities of no mean weight. With the last-named prelate we consider that there is real power and cogency in a comparatively recent application of the *à priori* method by a Scottish layman, Mr. W. H. Gillespie.<sup>1</sup> And, lest we should seem to be making mere assertions without giving our readers any opportunity of judging for themselves, we propose to set down (*a*) a few words adopted from the popularization of the Anselmian argument by M. Nicolas, and (*b*) a very brief *résumé* of the admirable restatement of Dr. Clarke's argument by Canon Mozley.

(*a*.) We have all some idea of what is meant by the word *infinite*. We are able to conceive it in all the conditions of existence—the infinite in duration, the infinite in space, and, in short, infinity in every sort of perfection. Whenever we employ such very common words as *im-perfect*, *dis-ordered*, *un-just*, *im-potent*, *im-pure*, we imply the existence of a prior idea of something *absolute* in perfection, in order, in justice, in power, in holiness, the existence of something self-subsisting and *infinite*. Indeed, the mere words *relative* and *finite*, of which we so constantly avail ourselves, necessarily presuppose that which is *absolute* and *infinite*. The term *indefinite* is clearly insufficient to express the idea within our minds: it merely pushes backward the notion of a boundary, whereas the word *infinite* suppresses it entirely.

And is this idea a mere subjective creation, a pure phantom of the mind? Surely not. It is absurd to suppose that we can measure all the realities around us by a phantom, all relative qualities by a mere non-existent abstraction. And, further, an idea impressed upon our minds must arise either from the actual object, which is true, or else from some imitation, which is borrowed and false. But in the instance now under consideration such imitation cannot exist. We gain, then, our idea of the infinite, the perfect, the absolute, from a reality; and that reality must be His own archetype and origin, the One self-existent substance, the One *I am that I am*.

(*b*.) Among the primary ideas of the mind is the idea of Cause. This is admitted perhaps by almost every school of philosophy, though the Sense school of Hume may indeed try to explain it away. And if, with Kant, we adopt as a specimen of a necessary truth the proposition that 'every change in phenomena must have a cause,' it is undeniable that we are impelled, when we have discovered a cause, to inquire

<sup>1</sup> *The Necessary Existence of God*. (London: Houlston and Wright.) Fourth Edition. 1863.

further if there were a cause of the cause; and, if one be found, we regard the latter as the true cause until a further cause of that one can be found.

For example, a person looking out of the window sees a dog suddenly fall into convulsions and die. But just the moment before he had observed the dog pick up something and swallow it. He infers that this food may have been poisoned, and was in all probability the cause of the creature's death; and subsequent examination by experts confirms the correctness of this view. But another person saw a boy throw out of a house the substance, which the dog picked up. This boy is for the moment regarded as the author of the creature's death. But on being taxed with it, he is able to prove that he was guiltless of any mischievous intent, inasmuch as an elder boy gave him the piece of meat and begged him to throw it in the dog's way. This senior lad is now regarded as the cause of the death, and everything between is considered as a mere link in the chain. And thus we go on in innumerable instances, always assuming the correctness of two leading principles, namely, that the cause of the cause is the cause of the thing caused, and that the ultimate cause is the only real cause; or, as they stand in scholastic Latin, *causa causæ causa causati*; *causa ultima sola vera causa*.

But either, then, the idea of cause must be wholly abandoned, or else we must rest in some one ultimate cause, which is the only true cause, and this ultimate cause of all things is God.

We commend these arguments, more especially this last one, to the attentive consideration of our readers. If it be said that it only leads to a somewhat cold representation of the great Being, who is above us, that it impresses on the mind a sense of power and eternity, but not necessarily of goodness, with this objection (*pace S. Anselmi*) we will not pause to concern ourselves. All that we are asking is—has it really been answered? Is it true that it makes no impression upon men of a fairly average degree of culture? Speaking for himself, the present writer believes that it has not been answered, and that (though considerably less obvious than the argument from design) it can be and is appreciated by large numbers of people.

Further, it must be borne in mind that the *à priori* argument for the being of God does in nowise clash with the argument derived from design. Many writers, from Aquinas to M. Cousin, have made this observation. The last-named, in speaking of the objection felt by Reid, Hutcheson, and the

Scottish school in general for the *à priori* method, adds that 'they forget that an idea, if it is natural and necessary, if it makes part of the moral and intellectual constitution, is also a phenomenon which we are called upon to explain, and which may as legitimately lead us to God as the phenomena of our physical constitution and those of the external world.'<sup>1</sup>

3. There remains the argument from conscience and the existence of the moral law. This is the line of thought, which at the present moment seems to commend itself the most to believers in real Theism, who stand, in other respects, at wide distances from each other, as, for example, Dr. Newman and Mr. Martineau. Possibly they may, at least thus far, be right, that it is the argument which implicitly, though not of course explicitly, comes home with most force to the earliest dawnings of thought and feeling in the brain and heart of a child, and which grows with its growth with a strength proportioned to the way in which it is acted upon. The merest child, who is conscious of having done wrong, of having committed a theft or told a lie, believes that he has broken a law which is binding not on himself alone, but on all around. Hence the strong feeling entertained by children in regard to justice. They will bear, without murmuring, considerable severity at the hands of a parent or a governess, provided that they see the recognition of the moral law in the case of brothers and sisters, and chastisement for breaches of it duly inflicted upon all with strict impartiality. And although it may be an over-statement to assert with Dr. Ward that '*no human being* has ever yet been found who thoroughly holds the Objective Reality of moral distinctions, without going on further, to recognize a Personal God, the Moral Governor of mankind,' we thoroughly agree with Dr. Ward, Dr. Newman, and Mr. Martineau in believing that acceptance of a real Theism is the natural and legitimate inference deducible from belief in the existence of the moral law. And as there is some satisfaction in days of controversy in citing concordant evidence from those whose position lies on either side of us, we purposely quote a few words from each of the two last-named authors.

'Whether a man be born in Pagan darkness or in some corrup-

<sup>1</sup> 'L'école entière, comme son fondateur, s'élève à Dieu en parlant de l'homme et du monde, et non d'une idée quelle qu'elle soit, oubliant peut-être qu'une idée, si elle est naturelle et nécessaire, si elle fait partie de la constitution intellectuelle et morale de l'homme, est aussi un phénomène qu'il s'agit d'expliquer et qui peut nous conduire à Dieu tout aussi légitimement que les phénomènes de notre constitution physique et ceux du monde extérieure.'—*Philosophie Ecossaise*, p. 27. (Paris, 1857.)

tion of revealed religion—whether he has heard the name of the Saviour of the world or not—whether he be the slave of some superstition . . . in any case he has within his breast a certain commanding dictate; not a mere sentiment, not a mere opinion, or impression, or view of things, but a law and authoritative voice bidding him do certain things and avoid others. I do not say that its particular injunctions are always clear, or that they are always consistent with each other; but what I am insisting on here is this, that it commands, that it praises, it blames, it promises, it threatens, it implies a future, and it witnesses of the unseen. . . . This is conscience; and, from the nature of the case, its very existence carries on our minds to a Being *exterior* to ourselves, else whence its strange troublesome peremptoriness? . . . To those who use what they have, more is given; for, beginning with obedience, *they go on to the intimate perception and belief of One God. His Voice within them witnesses to Him, and they believe His own witness about Himself.* They believe in His existence, not because others say it, not on the word of man merely, but with a personal apprehension of its truth.’<sup>1</sup>

Thus far Dr. Newman. The language of Mr. Martineau is similar:

‘No ethical conceptions are possible at all, except as floating shreds of unattached thought, without a religious background; and the sense of responsibility, the agony of shame, the inner reverence for justice first find their meaning and vindication in a supreme holiness that rules the world. Nor can any one be penetrated with the distinction between right and wrong, without recognizing it as valid for all free beings, and incapable of local or arbitrary change. His feeling insists on its permanent recognition and omnipresent sway; and this unity in the moral law carries him to the unity of the Divine Legislator. Theism is thus the indispensable postulate of conscience, its objective counterpart and justification, without which its inspirations would be illusions, and its veracities themselves a lie.’<sup>2</sup>

It seems to have been on the ground of conscience, as well as on the witness of external nature and the testimony of tradition, that the early Christian apologists relied when, in arguing against the heathen, they assumed that the being and unity of God scarcely required any formal proof. Undoubtedly they could appeal to many passages in heathen poets and orators, which look like a more or less conscious rejection of polytheism. Not only the Stoic Cleanthes, in his noble hymn, but even the careless and Epicurean Horace, can at moments

<sup>1</sup> *Occasional Sermons*, pp. 72-75.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies of Christianity*, p. 9. Dr. Ward, who quotes these passages, has also well stated the case himself, at p. 75 of his *Nature and Grace*.

recognize a supreme and solitary Father, to whom nothing can be ranked as similar or even as occupying a second place. S. Justin, S. Clement, S. Basil, S. Athanasius, S. Jerome, and S. Cyril all speak in this strain. It must be sufficient for the present to remind our readers of the well-known and striking language of Tertullian in that beautiful passage of his *Apology*, wherein he remarks how, in moments of thoughtfulness or of sorrow, the exclamation that naturally arose to Pagan lips was no appeal to Mars or to Apollo, but simply 'May God save me! may God direct me!' and the like. 'O testimony of the soul naturally Christian!' is the famous comment of that vigorous writer (*O testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ!*).

But if the existence of God once be granted, the next question that naturally arises is—'what is the condition of the soul which recognizes Him.' And here the witness to its state of alienation from its Maker is also strong and cogent even on grounds of mere reason and observation, and seems to be naturally suggested by that strange capacity for good and evil which dwells within the human heart. Euripides and Plato, Cicero and Ovid all furnish evidence on this as on many other principles of religion:

'The old Greek and Roman polytheists had, as they show in their literature, clear and strong notions, nay, vivid mental images, of a particular providence, of the power of prayer, of the rule of Divine governance, of the law of conscience, of sin and guilt, of expiation by means of sacrifices, and of future retribution; I will even add, of the unity and personality of the Supreme Being. This it is that throws such a magnificent light over the Homeric poems, the tragic choruses, and the Odes of Pindar; and it has its counterpart in the philosophy of Socrates and the Stoics, and in such historians as Herodotus.'<sup>1</sup>

And so far as regards the special dogma of which we are now speaking, Dean Stanley has well observed:

'It is a statement of a universal fact in human experience. It is the dark side of the world, known by philosophers as well as by theologians, dear to Rochefoucault and Machiavelli no less than to Calvin. The error, if there was an error, in Rochefoucault, the error, if there was an error, in Calvin, was not that they asserted the fact of human corruption, but that they exhibited it out of its due proportions, and dwelt on a dark, and melancholy, and depressing subject, as if it were a matter of glory and pride and delight.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, p. 242. Compare Dr. Pusey's latest volume of *University Sermons on the Testimony of Homer*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Human Corruption*. A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford by A. P. Stanley, D.D., in 1863.



A poet of our day, whom we have already quoted, has made a reference to this problem in our nature. He tells us of a maiden in Brittany, whose outward form seemed to be the type of all inward excellence, whose life was pure and outwardly irreproachable, and who died young, being apparently only too good for this lower world. A pardonable weakness for her abundant locks of yellow hair led her to request, that that ornament might rest with her untouched. And yet it proved, that some mad passion of avarice had induced the girl to twine within her hair some thirty double *louis-d'or*, which were discovered several years afterwards when the pavement of the church needed repair. The poem proceeds, as many will recollect, as follows :—

- ‘Enough ! The priest took the grave’s grim yield ;  
 The parents, they eyed that price of sin  
 As if thirty pieces lay revealed  
 On the place to *bury strangers in*,  
 The hideous Potter’s Field.
- ‘But the priest bethought him : “Milk that’s spilt—  
 You know the adage ! Watch and pray !  
 Saints tumble to earth with so slight a tilt !  
 It would build a new altar : that we may !”  
 And the altar *therewith was built*.
- ‘Why I deliver this horrible verse ?  
 As the text of a sermon, which now I preach :  
 Evil or good may be better or worse  
 In the human heart, but the mixture of each  
 Is a marvel and a curse.
- ‘The candid incline to surmise of late  
 That the Christian faith may be false, I find ;  
 For our Essays and Reviews’ debate  
 Begin to tell on the public mind,  
 And Colenso’s words have weight.
- ‘I still, to suppose it true, for my part,  
 See reasons and reasons, this to begin :  
 ‘Tis the faith that launched point-blank her dart  
 At the head of a lie—taught original sin,  
 The corruption of man’s heart.’<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Newman (whose concurrence with Mr. Browning in another respect has been justly commented on by Mr. Swinburne) has expressed the same idea in a passage of his *Apologia*, of which the first paragraph was justly called in a *critique* of the time one of the finest sentences in the English language.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Browning, *Dramatis Personæ* : ‘Gold Hair, a Legend of Pornic.’

'To consider the world in its length and breadth, its various history, the many races of man, their starts, their fortunes, their mutual alienation, their conflicts; and then their ways, habits, governments, forms of worship; their enterprises, their aimless courses, their random achievements and acquirements, the impotent conclusion of long-standing facts, the tokens, so faint and broken, of a superintending design, the blind evolution of what turn out to be great powers or truths, the progress of things, as if from unreasoning elements, not towards final causes, the greatness and littleness of man, his far-reaching aims, his short duration, the curtain hung over his futurity, the disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the pervading idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully yet exactly described in the Apostle's words, "having no hope and without God in the world"—all this is a vision to dizzy and appall, and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery which is absolutely beyond human solution.

'What shall be said to this heart-piercing, reason-bewildering fact? I can only answer that either there is no Creator, or this living society of man is in a true sense discarded from His presence. Did I see a boy of good make and mind, with the tokens on him of a refined nature, cast upon the world without provision, unable to say whence he came, his birthplace, or his family connections, I should conclude that there was some mystery connected with his history, and that he was one of whom, from one cause or other, his parents were ashamed. And so I argue about the world:—*if* there be a God, *since* there is a God, the human race is implicated in some terrible aboriginal calamity. It is out of joint with the purposes of its Creator. This is a fact, a fact as true as the fact of its existence; and thus the doctrine of what is theologically called original sin becomes to me almost as certain as that the world exists, and as the existence of God.<sup>1</sup>

And now, supposing that human reason and conscience rightfully lead men, in the first place, to believe in God as a personal Creator, Governor, and Father, and, secondly, to recognize that the human race is in a state of alienation from Him, observation may impress upon their minds one or two other very important facts connected with these two first principles. Such, for example, are these following:—

There exist in the world a certain number of races occupying the very foremost place in civilization, in power, in literature, in art and science, in wealth, and in all the general conditions of progress. These nations, amidst whatever amount of inconsistency and short-coming, do profess and call themselves Christian, and the Christian religion is interwoven with their past history. Many millions among them

<sup>1</sup> pp. 240-243. Abridged edition.

do, as their forefathers have done for centuries, worship Christ as their manifested God, and name His name as their one ground of hope for salvation.<sup>1</sup> Now, assuming a real Theism to be already acknowledged, does there not follow logically, from what has just been stated, the proposition attributed to the first Napoleon?—

‘There is no God in heaven, if a mere man has been able to conceive and execute with full success the gigantic design of securing for himself supreme worship by usurping the name of God. Jesus Christ is the only one who has dared this.’<sup>2</sup>

Thus far we have not, except in the way of allusion, trenched upon the evidence for the Being of God, or Original Sin, or the Incarnation provided by Revelation. But of course we fully admit the tendency of the human mind, if left to itself, to fall from its own spiritual attainments. It ought, then, gladly to welcome that authoritative republication of natural religion provided for it in Revelation: and though a poet, who speaks of this fresh source of knowledge as that to which reason can do no more than lead us, has somewhat, to our thinking, overstated his case, we must admit that in practice his view has often proved correct:

‘Dim, as the borrow’d beams of moon and stars  
To lonely, weary, wandering travellers,  
Is reason to the soul: and as on high  
Those rolling fires discover but the sky,  
Not light us here, so reason’s glimmering ray  
Was lent, not to assure our doubtful way,  
But guide us upwards to a better day.’<sup>3</sup>

Professor Max Müller, Miss Cobbe, and others point to evidence in favour of Monotheism having been the real creed in ancient Hindostan and elsewhere in the East. We fully believe it, but unhappily it did not abide there any more than in Greece or Rome. How ill calculated natural religion is to stand alone and unaided, may be shown, we think, by an examination of the *Emile* of Rousseau, or the *Religion Naturelle* of M. Jules Simon. But starting from a certain point in the world’s history, we find the truths of natural religion, the Being of God, and man’s need to love Him, no longer cherished in a

<sup>1</sup> While these pages are passing through the press, we observe a striking and emphatic restatement of the positions asserted in this paragraph by M. Othenin d’Haussonville in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* for 1<sup>er</sup> Juin 1876, in an article on M. Michelet (p. 483).

<sup>2</sup> The entire paper is given by M. Nicolas, *Etudes Philosophiques*, tome iv.

<sup>3</sup> Dryden, *Religio Laici*.

small corner of the world, but spreading everywhere and made known to tens of thousands of our very children with a clearness and emphasis for which Plato had vainly sighed.

For this fact also—for it surely is a fact—Christians have an explanation. They believe that He, who alone among the sons of men has won for Himself supreme and enduring worship as God, came from His throne above, and took upon Himself human nature, not only to atone for mankind by His holy life and, specifically, by His holy death, not only to set a spotless example and show how the creature should behave towards the Creator, not only to confront Satan in the wilderness and in Hades, not only to offer prayer and sacrifice as Priest of priests and to rule His people as King of kings, but likewise as the Prophet of prophets, to reveal, with a distinctness and power never known before, the Father as He is in Himself, and as He stands in His relations to His creatures in all His glorious attributes of perfect wisdom and goodness, of justice, and mercy, and love.<sup>1</sup>

Consequently, it is difficult and well-nigh impossible for individual Christians to analyse with precision, how much of their knowledge of their Creator is due to natural reason and conscience, how much to that vivid sense of individual personality which of itself suggests a Divine personality on high, how much to the ancient traditions of the great human family, how much to the revelation contained in the older Scriptures, how much to the fuller disclosures made by Christ and His

<sup>1</sup> It may be urged against us, that Mr. Martineau, whom we cited with respect on the Being of God, rejects this conclusion, and throws his lot entirely with Socinians as his teachers. But is this really the case? We can only once more quote Mr. Martineau's own words: 'I am constrained to say, that neither my intellectual preference nor my moral admiration goes heartily with the Unitarian heroes, sects, or productions of any age. Ebionites, Arians, Socinians, all seem to me to contrast unfavourably with their opponents, and to exhibit a type of thought far less worthy, on the whole, of the true genius of Christianity. I am conscious that my deepest obligations are in almost every department to writers not of my own creed. In philosophy I have had to unlearn most that I had imbibed from my early text-books, and the authors most in favour with them. In Biblical interpretation I derive from Calvin and Whitby the help that fails me in Crell and Belsham. In devotion, literature, and religious thought, I find nothing of ours that does not pale before Augustine, Tauler, Pascal. And in the poetry of the Church it is the Latin or German hymns, or the lines of Charles Wesley or Keble, that fasten on my memory and heart, and make all else seem poor and cold. . . . I cannot help this. I can only say, I am sure it is no perversity; and I believe the preference is founded on reason and nature, and is already widely spread among us.'—*Letter to Mr. Macdonald on the Unitarian Position*. London: Whitfield, 1859.

Apostles, how much to the influence of the Holy Spirit on the heart, how much to the teaching of the Church, how much to intercommunion with God through prayer in private and in public, and how much to the sacraments and other appointed channels of grace. But this he knows, that these varied rays all converge into one ever brightening focus of light. And when he looks around him and thinks in what way he and his fellow-men pursue the business of their earthly careers, how greatly in all departments of thought and action they are again and again compelled to take matters on trust, how the world boasts of modern systems of creating private and national wealth being based on *credit*, that is to say, on faith—it seems to him a grave and solemn thing to reflect on the possibility of any created soul having hereafter to stand before its Maker, and to be compelled to confess: ‘Day by day I acted on convictions of which the evidence, though often but comparatively feeble and confused, was still felt to be enough to warrant my course of conduct; but the proofs of Thy Being around me and within me, the evidence of Thy care and of Thy desire for my love, I thrust upon one side, as insufficient and as needless for my life.’

But for ourselves, accepting all these sources of instruction and of guidance, we proceed to speak as those, who believe in the Being of God, in man's state of alienation from Him, and in the Incarnation of His Son. And acknowledging the records concerning Christ, we shall now proceed to speak as those who suppose it to be possible that many of His acts on earth are impressed with a typical as well as a prophetic character. It has been observed by the most learned of the living Anglican divines, that attempts to apply to holy men, who have suffered for the truth, words of prophecy, which only find their complete fulfilment in Christ, can never be destitute of a certain measure of plausibility, inasmuch as all holiness, and most especially such as through suffering bears witness to truth, must needs resemble, even if in ever so faint and dim an outline, the supreme holiness of the King of martyrs.

In like manner, what He did and suffered on earth appears to be often in a figure repeated. Still are there days in which, at least to the outward eye, Christ, though he comes in meek and lowly guise, seems to ride in triumph. Almost all for the moment acknowledge Him, and even enemies dare only murmur.

‘With glittering robes and garlands sweet  
They strew the ground beneath His feet :  
Constrain'd to own Him, but in heart  
Prepared to take Barabbas' part.’

And again too, ever and anon, mankind sits in judgment on Him. Still are to be found those among his servants who have not realized their own weakness, but deny Him in the hour of trial, though they may live to return and to repent; still those who set him at nought and mock Him, and who base the renewal of friendships with men, with whom they have been at enmity, on the one common ground of hostility to Him; still the unjust judge, who in his heart believes Him innocent, and even makes an outward demonstration of his conviction by the vain and impotent ceremony of washing of hands, but who lacks the moral courage to withstand the lawless cry of the multitude and the insinuation that he is not Cæsar's friend; and still too some, who, while professing to honour Him with lip-homage, would fain insinuate charges of untruthfulness against His character and betray the Son of Man with a kiss!

There are also times, when He comes again into His Father's house and is found sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions; and seasons too alas! when that house of prayer has become an house of merchandise, and must be cleansed by the scourge of His avenging zeal. And lastly, although never to the Church universal, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, yet to the local Church of this or that land, there may come and there does come a day of awe, when faith having waxed cold, and love having been lost, Jesus goes out and departs from the Temple; and wherever that shall happen, be it in Asia or in Egypt, in Byzantium or in London, a judgment is impending, and the tramp of hostile horsemen is already heard in the distance, marching with permission to overthrow.

It is to these last-named aspects of the *Vita vitæ nostræ* that we desire at present to direct attention.

Among the absolutely new conceptions gained from the pages of the New Testament must be placed, in a very prominent and leading position, that of the world, regarded as the enemy of Christ. It comes before the mind's eye portrayed as a distinct kingdom, with a code and standard of its own, by no means uniform, changing greatly in different climes and from age to age, but still marked in its spirit of alienation, and deeply (though not always outwardly) cherishing an evil heart of unbelief. Nevertheless, it is profoundly impressed by all the agencies of that other kingdom to which it stands opposed. Its conclusions, if reached by other roads, and claiming for themselves an independent basis and authority, are by no



means always absolutely divergent from those of the Gospel. Further, in erecting from time to time the standard of open unbelief, it has exhibited a consciousness that its chosen champions, whom it desires to honour with the rewards of name and fame, must not, if they are to effect anything, be mere victims of the pleasures of sense or simply aspirants after the vulgar prizes of ambition, but must be men who are not only endowed with some high intellectual gifts, but who are also conspicuous for some really noble qualities, and who may fairly lay claim to many of those elements of character which constitute greatness. S. Augustine calls on his hearers to recognize the fact that heresies cannot have been produced by any petty souls, but only by great men: '*Non enim putetis, fratres, quia potuerunt fieri hæreses per aliquas parvas animas. Non fecerunt hæreses nisi magni homines.*'<sup>1</sup> And what he here asserts of the leaders in the path of misbelief, is at least equally true of the most renowned among the propagators and partisans of unbelief.

It accords with what has just been said, that there has scarcely ever arisen a really important movement in the domain of art, of science, of letters, of politics, which has not produced a great impression, even on the spirits of those who opposed it. Much more, as has already been implied, does this principle hold good concerning religious movements, in proportion as their subject matter sinks more deeply than any other into the human heart. Of the Christianity of the first century a living historian has truly said that, 'when it counted its converts by thousands, its unconscious disciples were already millions ;'<sup>2</sup> and a journal of the day, not usually considered favourable to Christianity, has generously recognized the great moral effect often produced in India among a non-Christian population, by the establishment of a Christian mission in its centre. Consequently also individual combatants have borne the traces of these dints upon their shields. Who are the three whose names naturally rise to the lips, when champions of unbelief, in the earlier ages of Christendom, are called to mind? There can only be one reply—Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian. They are the three mentioned by S. Jerome when he begins his *Liber de Viris Illustribus*, to show that Christianity too has had men of mark among her writers ; they are the three, who at once occur to the eloquent Dominican of our own time, as men who have won for them-

<sup>1</sup> *Enarratio in Psalmum CXXIV.* Of Donatus, Maximian, Arius, and others, he says, 'Omnes istos Montes nominavi, sed naufragosos.'

<sup>2</sup> Dean Merivale, *History of Rome under the Empire*, chap. i. *sub. fin.*

selves undying fame by their opposition to the religion of the Cross.

Why is not Lucian classed with them? Why is his name generally kept apart from such association alike by friend or foe? No one can doubt but that he has left behind him writings which are at least as hostile to Christianity as those of any of the famous three. We believe that he has failed to find a place in the list, on the one hand because Christians did not care to defend themselves against an assailant who was simply a scoffer all round and as contemptuous of Paganism as of the religion of the Cross; while, on the other hand, the graver and more serious among the heathen became somewhat ashamed of partisanship of such a stamp.

Hence, in passing, we may be permitted to express a doubt whether the poets who have pleaded the cause of Paganism against Christianity have not in many cases committed sins, not only against faith and morals, but also against historical truth and artistic propriety. Not that we doubt for a moment that the opposition to Christianity in all ages—and in our own age at least as much as any other—arises frequently from a simple hatred of the strictness of its morality; but that it has seldom been the case, that its assailants have *avowedly* chosen this, as their field of battle. In Schiller's *Gods of Greece*, in Goethe's *Bride of Corinth*, in the more terrible and repulsively blasphemous *Hymn to Proserpine*, placed in the mouth of an imaginary heathen by a living English poet, it is assumed throughout, that the religion of ancient Greece was all joy, the religion of Christ all sorrow. Now,—waiving for the moment the unfairness of such a representation of that creed in which joy is again and again enumerated among the special gifts of the Spirit,—we must enter our emphatic protest against this teaching as a gross and grievous libel upon all the noblest elements and grandest minds of ancient Hellas. Let any honest student of antiquity turn to Herodotus, with his keynote of retribution (*τίσις*) constantly recurring through the whole of his symphony; let him read again the *Odes* of Pindar, the grand trilogy of the *Oresteia* of Æschylus, the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* of Plato, and then ask himself whether Schiller can for a moment be justified in saying to the Gods of Greece:

‘Your gentle service gay  
Nor self-denial, nor sharp penance knew.’<sup>1</sup>

One wonders whether the poet had ever heard of heathen

<sup>1</sup> The late Lord Lytton's free, but not inaccurate rendering of the lines in *Die Götter Griechenlands* :—

sacrifices of expiation or of the Cave of Trophonius and the ideas associated with it. Perhaps, however, the writer who furnishes the most distinct evidence on this score is the very one who, as a disciple of Epicurus, did his best to banish from men's thoughts the more solemn and awesome features of Pagan theology. The unhappy Lucretius, far from holding that Paganism excluded severity from its teaching, could think of no other way of getting rid of such elements of thought than by overthrowing the entire system. His recognition of fear and sadness in the popular theology is most keen and piercing. But it is time to return from the poets to the actual writers against Christianity.

Celsus appears to have been, in his own way, an extremely credulous man. But mere credulity not only is not faith, it often proves an enemy to faith. Coarsely irreverent, and utterly untouched by the Gospel narrative of the sufferings of Christ, he is most strong upon the duty of paying homage to the *daimonia*, to whom, according to his creed, the charge of the universe has been committed, and whose presence he seems to

‘ Finster Ernst und trauriges Entsagen  
War aus eurem heitern Dienst verbannt.’

Schiller has, more or less, rebuked his own sophistry in this matter in many of his poems and ballads; more especially in the story borrowed from Herodotus—*The Ring of Polycrates*. Many will remember Elizabeth Browning's poem in reply, *The Dead Pan*, and her words: ‘It is in all veneration to the memory of the deathless Schiller, that I oppose a doctrine still more dishonouring to poetry than to Christianity.’ We did not intend to make any further reference to Mr. Swinburne's *Hymn to Proserpine*. But, to our very deep regret, we have seen, since the above words were written, an allusion to the poem made by a Professor of honoured name, in a respected and widely circulated Magazine, which expresses the most fervid admiration for it; without one syllable of censure or of warning. Now Mr. Swinburne's verses may, no doubt, be read simply as the dramatic expression of the sentiments of a Pagan, an Epicurean of the worst and most degraded type, on the overthrow of Paganism and the triumph of Christianity. We wish that we could honestly add—but we cannot—that it is nothing more than this; and that we feel sure that the *animus* of the poet is not, to a most painful extent, identified with that of the imaginary speaker. But we have applied to it the epithets in the text most deliberately, and are unable to withdraw them. There may indeed, in the lines most often quoted from this poem, be an unintentional homage to Christ.

‘Thou hast conquered, O pale Galilean, the world has grown grey 'neath  
thy breath,’

is an acknowledgment of the power of the Crucified; and His disciples know that the greyness is only for time, as the needful prelude to the red glory of eternity in store. But this is not what is intended, and the sensuousness (to use the gentlest term) of the *Hymn to Proserpine* is most marked. The recent companion poem of Mr. Swinburne, *The Last Oracle*, is in this respect somewhat less repellent.

recognize in every created thing. And yet, as is the case with almost all the abler opponents of Christianity, his admissions are very remarkable. We can only, at present, refer to two. Celsus, ignoring the immense change wrought in the minds of the Apostles by the events specially commemorated by the feasts of Easter and of Pentecost, ridicules the Christians of his day *for their willingness to die for their faith*, whereas Christ's own immediate followers did not die with Him, but even denied Him :<sup>1</sup> and though he treats with scorn the very notion of a resurrection of the body, he yet employs the most solemn and striking language concerning God and the immortal destiny of man's soul for weal or woe. With men who, while believing in the resurrection of their mortal frame, are yet ready to expose that (in their view) most precious possession to all kinds of tortures, as if it were worthless—with men, who to him seem thus self-convicted of inconsistency, he will not so much as argue. But with those who think that their soul or intellect will enjoy an eternal life with God, with those he will reason.

'In this at least they do think rightly, that those who have lived well will be happy, but that the unrighteous (*οἱ ἀδικοὶ*) will be utterly involved in everlasting ills. *And from this dogma let them nor any of mankind ever depart.*'<sup>2</sup>

Far more serious, more grave, was Porphyry, whose character has been somewhat raised through the publication, in 1816, by Mai, of the Letter to his wife Marcella. Trained for a brief space by Origen himself, and subsequently by Plotinus, fluctuating (as S. Augustine tells us)<sup>3</sup> between inclination for the culture of magical arts and of philosophy, with some notion of what is meant by personal sinfulness—a point in which Celsus seems to have been utterly deficient—he might have been expected to prove a possible convert to Christianity. But in that fluctuation would probably have been found his weakness. Few can be content with mere negations. And Christians, as well as other religionists, have a right to ask the

<sup>1</sup> *Origenes cont. Celsum*, lib. ii. cap. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* lib. viii. cap. 49. Although the present writer claims to have made an independent study of this and most of the writings to which he refers, he desires to make a full acknowledgment of the benefit and assistance derived by him from the *Bampton Lectures* of Professor Farrar (London : Murray, 1862), to which he may possibly owe more than he is aware. He is the more anxious to do this, because this truly learned, able, and original book does not seem to him to have received its due share of honour and attention. Archdeacon Hessey has openly avowed his obligations to it : but he seems almost to stand alone.

<sup>3</sup> *De Civitate Dei*, lib. x. cap. 9, 11, 26-28.

question, 'If we yield to your objections, and resign our belief, what do you propose to give us in its stead?' Now if Porphyry had answered 'Philosophy,' the obvious reply would be, that Philosophy had already tried to regenerate the world and had failed: that even Platonism had never found wide acceptance; and that Stoicism, with all its nobleness, had died with its imperial patron, Marcus Aurelius. But if he answered, 'An intercourse with the world unseen,' *Magia*, then this *Magia* or *Goetia* (or, as he preferred to call it, *Theurgia*) bears so perilous a resemblance to all that Christians, and even many pious heathens, had learnt to shun as possibly placing them under the power of evil spirits, that numbers would shrink from even the semblance of coming into contact with it. Porphyry himself seems to have had doubts about it in his better moments.

We have lost not only his own chief work against the Christian religion, which was destroyed by order of the Emperor Theodosius, but likewise the treatise by Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, and the thirty books by Apollinarius,—*fortissimos libros*, according to S. Jerome,<sup>1</sup>—in reply. But in proportion to his greater learning and ingenuity and larger sense of the real difficulty of certain problems, he must have been a foe to the faith more to be dreaded than his predecessor Celsus.

And Julian—what Christian has ever denied his many lofty gifts and wonderful powers? From the days of the Christian poet Prudentius, his contemporary, to those of the latest Christian historian who has narrated his career at length, how fully have they been acknowledged. Among the bravest as a general, most justly renowned as a legislator, and, though an apostate from the faith, yet not faithless to the lower interests of the empire—such is the portrait drawn by the poet: a portrait of which even Gibbon admits the generosity. And as for the Duc de Broglie, we almost doubt whether, in his earnest desire to be fair, he has not drawn too engaging a picture of the emperor, who for a brief and passing season made Paganism once more triumphant; whether he has not to a greater degree than Gibbon himself unintentionally slurred over the faults of the Apostate and the meanness of his conduct towards S. Athanasius.

Yet the great fact remains, that these three did all contend to the utmost against the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ, and that whatever high endowments they in their different degrees possessed only rendered them the more

<sup>1</sup> *Epistola LXX. Pammachio et Oceano. Apologia adversus Ruffinum.*

formidable enemies of the faith: 'the things that should have been for their wealth became unto them an occasion of falling.' It would certainly be most unjust to the memory of Julian to accuse him of desiring to set up a paganism of the sort implied in Mr. Swinburne's *Hymn to Proserpine*; indeed any attempt to restore the abominations, which had been exposed in the overthrow of heathen temples, would have enlisted against him all the more honourable and virtuous spirits still attached to the traditions of heathendom. But it is not easy to find in the course of history a more direct throwing down of the gauntlet to Christ our Lord, than was done by the emperor, who resolved upon rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem in order to prove Him a false prophet. The utter discomfiture and overthrow of that attempt is attested, as is well known, by the heathen historian Ammianus Marcellinus, as completely as by Christian witnesses. Whether the explosions which occurred in the course of the excavations resulted from natural causes, such as fire-damp directed to a particular end by the special Providence of God, or whether they were, as seems to us more probable, of a supernatural character, is a comparatively unimportant question.<sup>1</sup> Enough for us to know that the failure on the part of Julian was complete. Well might S. Chrysostom, in the next generation, urge it upon the consideration of the Jews.

One other feature in the career of Julian seems worthy of remark. De Maistre has said—and though he is a very unsafe guide, his *obiter dicta* are often most acute and valuable—that 'nothing is more infallible than the instinct of impiety.' Now against what one Christian teacher did Julian specially direct his energies? The answer to this question shall be supplied for us by Gibbon:—

'Julian, who despised the Christians, honoured Athanasius with his sincere and peculiar hatred. For his sake alone, he introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant at least to the spirit of his former declarations. . . . The language of his resentment discovers the opinion, which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanasius. . . . The death of Athanasius was not expressly commanded; but the Prefect of Egypt understood that it was safer for him to exceed, than to neglect the orders of an irritated master.'<sup>2</sup>

Well, we see in our own day many who are consciously, and many more who are unconsciously, treading in the footsteps

<sup>1</sup> Döllinger seems to suppose them *natural*; the late Professor Hussey, M. de Broglie, with a majority of Christian authorities, both ancient and modern, *supernatural*.

<sup>2</sup> *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxiii.



of Julian ; and in this, at least, they constantly reproduce one marked feature in the character of their prototype : they do most cordially detest the very name and memory of S. Athanasius.

The literary assaults of Julian—less extended and elaborate than those of Porphyry—were subsequently made the subject of a reply by S. Cyril of Alexandria ; and a Christian writer has lately translated the passages of the imperial critic given us by Cyril. But in fact the most forcible reply to Julian was to be found in the logic of events. Just as all his authority, wealth, and influence had failed to overcome the terrors of the workmen provided by him at Jerusalem ; so, too, at his death, all the fabric of Paganism which he had reared collapsed, and the banner of the Cross was again displayed at the head of the Roman legions.

Now, as has already been implied, if the labours of an Origen or a Methodius suggest to our minds the presence of Christ in the midst of the doctors, so, too, do those practical replies, which are made by the course of events, recall the advent of Titus with his army as the termination of the contest with Sadducee and Pharisee. Oftentimes, as history shows, the event has been the sole but all-sufficient comment. But meanwhile, though we may regret that such powers as those of a Porphyry or a Julian should not have been enlisted on the opposite side, we must always remember that every important movement of opposition has uniformly resulted in some real and abiding service to the cause of Christianity. Look at the wild speculations of the Gnostics. They were a source of great trouble and of peril both to individual souls and to the Church at large, yet M. de Broglie is justified in observing that 'they transformed bishops into doctors and believers into *savans*.'<sup>1</sup> An historian of our own<sup>2</sup> amplifies the idea, and, in a passage of much force and beauty, dwells on the services rendered by Gnosticism, essentially un-Christian as it was, by the way in which it brought out champions of orthodoxy—witness S. Irenæus—and compelled the Church to consider what ideas and influences of earlier religions and philosophies were compatible, and what incompatible, with Christian principle ; what could be hallowed and might with safety be rescued from the wreck of a world which was passing away. A German Christian<sup>3</sup> even goes so far as to declare that 'it was through the Gnostics that studies, literature, and art

<sup>1</sup> *L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au quatrième siècle*, tom. i. p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Canon Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, book i. chap. iv.

<sup>3</sup> *Baumgarten-Crusius*, cited by Robertson and Dörner.

were introduced into the Church.' But Gnosticism, when its work was thus accomplished, became weak and lingering, and though now and then we catch some faint echoes of its tone, it has completely vanished as an organized system of thought and practice.

Now, although we have neither the time nor the space to consider the various systems of unbelief manifested in subsequent history, yet at this point we would fain pause and ask whether such phenomena as those to which we have referred have not recurred again and again. The Divine Head of the Church has either raised up servants specially suited to the age in which their lot is cast—whether its fault be misbelief or unbelief—or else He has permitted the mere course of events to give a death-blow to the schools and systems of heresy and unbelief. As regards heresy, we find an array of saints and doctors, Athanasius confronting Arius, Leo against Eutyches, Augustine against Pelagius, Anselm against Roscelin, Bernard against Abelard; and although the treasure is in earthen vessels, and the defenders may not always have been free from over-statements and mistakes, yet, on the whole, their instincts seem to have been sound and right, and divinely guided towards a good end. So numerous were the writings against unbelief towards the close of the second and commencement of the third century after Christ, that it has been called the Apologetic age; and though modern research has shown that there is some exaggeration here, and in reality great activity prevailed in other departments of thought, yet it does happen that these volumes have lived, and are found, in most cases, worthy of a very special study. The Apologies of Origen, Tertullian, S. Justin Martyr, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius, we still possess. But Celsus would probably be unknown but for the great service which he unintentionally wrought in causing the production of the treatise of Origen. And Porphyry and Julian, who derided the simplicity of the sons of Zebedee for leaving all and following Christ—what are they? They are, as has well been said, 'the powerless shadows of a name;' while He with whom Apostles and Evangelists threw their lot, still speaks to the intellect of the world, as well as to its poor and humble, through the fisherman, the publican, and the tentmaker.

Even men who were partially, nay, sometimes deeply, in error, and systems alien from the truth, have been permitted to restrain worse error. The Paulicians, who towards the latter part of the seventh century dared 'to violate the unity

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Pusey, *University Sermons*, 1859-1872, p. 20. (Oxford: Parker.)

of God, the first article of natural and revealed religion,'<sup>1</sup> do not appear to have called forth any great work in confutation of their revived species of Manichæism. But Mahometanism, amidst its strangely mixed elements of truth and error, of service and of injury to humanity, may fairly claim, in its utter extinction of Paulicianism, to have stamped out a system infinitely more pernicious than itself.

What shall be said of the English Deists of the reign of Queen Anne? Almost a century has passed away since Edmund Burke asked, 'Who reads the now forgotten works of Toland, Chubb, and Tindal?' We may ask again, who, except Mr. Hunt, reads them now? How different is the fate of More and Cudworth and of Leland: how different the lot of Pascal and of Butler.

And then, again, the French Encyclopædists. Lord Macaulay is probably right in the expression of his belief, that not all the wit of Voltaire could have produced the effect it did, but for the one really noble characteristic of the man and of his school, namely, their hatred of oppression. He is also right in observing, that the Gallican Church—which had learned to lean far too much upon that Court, which had expelled the Huguenots—sent forth no Pascal and no Bossuet to combat Voltaire. But the scepticism of the day, whatever else it is, is not that of the would-be sage of Ferney, any more than it is that of Rousseau or of Hume. The greatest English admirer of the self-styled philosophers of the France of that day has recently been giving a highly eulogistic account of their labours in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*. But as he concludes and replaces on their shelves the ponderous and somewhat dusty tomes of the once famous *Encyclopédie*, what is the thought that comes over him? He is obliged to own to something like a conviction that these volumes will not be disturbed again, that he is replacing them, if we may use a homely phrase, for good and all. Yes, Mr. Morley, it is even so. For there is a vast amount of truth, even if it be slightly exaggerated, in the well-known words of Goethe—

'All those epochs in which belief is supreme, under whatsoever form it may be, are brilliant, elevating, and fruitful for contemporaneous times and for posterity. All those, on the contrary, in which unbelief, be it under whatsoever form it will, maintains a direful supremacy,—even if it should shine for a moment with a tinsel brilliancy,—vanish before posterity, because no one willingly torments himself with a knowledge of the unfruitful.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. liv.

<sup>2</sup> *West-Oestlicher Divan. Israel in der Wüste.*

Among the forms of scepticism peculiarly prominent at the present moment must be named Pantheism, revived Paganism, and Nescience or (as many prefer to call it) Agnosticism. Concerning Pantheism, and concerning that ultra-classical taste in art and letters, which carries one back in thought to the era of the Medici in Italy, we may have something to say another time. As regards Nescience, one form of it, the Kantian, was discussed in the very first number of this *Review*. At present we are about to call attention (mainly, though not quite exclusively) to one of its professors, Mr. Matthew Arnold. But we would first venture briefly to assign a few of the reasons which induce us to consider it improbable that Agnosticism should ever become a very formidable power, by winning to its standard any large masses of people for any great length of time. Those which specially impress us are (1) the utter incoherence of its philosophic basis; (2) its purely negative character; (3) its decided opposition to the general sense of mankind. Let us say a word or two on each of these points.

1. The first principle of the Agnostic is as follows: 'I will not accept anything as true, which cannot be *verified* by my own experience.' But directly we ask for a definition of this word *verified* we find the Agnostics hopelessly at variance.

Teachers of religion do not, for the most part, maintain that its dogmas can be verified in precisely the same way as the truths apprehended by the senses, by consciousness, by the memory of states of consciousness, by intuition, or by mathematical demonstration. Nay, they commonly teach, that if the case stood thus, there would be no room for faith, no possibility, in this respect, of probation. But they do maintain that, as there is an unbelief even of holy truths which may be innocent, as not arising out of the sceptic's own fault, so there must be also an unbelief which is wrong and guilty; that if there are times

'When Faith forbids thee to believe,  
And Meekness calls to disobey,'<sup>1</sup>

yet that there is an unbelief, which is opposed to right and reasonable faith, and a disobedience which certainly does not spring from meekness.

'Neither does this astonish at the end,  
That, whereas I can so receive and trust,  
Men made with hearts and souls the same as mine,  
Reject and disbelieve—subordinate

<sup>1</sup> O. Wendell Holmes.

The future to the present,—sin nor fear.  
 This I refer still to the foremost fact,  
 Life is probation and this earth no goal  
 But starting point of man : compel him strive,  
 Which means, in man, as good as reach the goal—  
 Why institute that race, his life, at all? <sup>1</sup>

Now, if by verification is meant that subjection to the senses which takes place whenever we examine a shell, a flower, a pound of cheese, and the like objects, we should like to know what science can possibly abide this coarse, materializing test? The mathematician comes before us and lectures upon *asymptotes*. He maintains that in many cases—to take a common one, say the curve of the equiangular hyperbola in relation to its axis—a given curve and a given straight line will never meet, though both externally approximate. Can we verify by the senses the demonstration of this statement? Most certainly not. The lecturer probably, if called upon for such verification, would assign as the reason for his failure the fact that he cannot display to the eye a mathematical line at all. It ought to be length without breadth, and not even Apelles, in the well-known story, can be supposed to have traced such a line.

Again, in mechanical philosophy, an atomic theory of some sort is, even in opposing camps, the prevailing one. Part of the President's opening address to the British Association, at Belfast, in 1874, has been wittily, but by no means unjustly, paraphrased in a poem which has already been quoted in this *Review*—

'First, then, let us honour the atom, so lively, so wise, and so small.'

But whether, with Professor Tyndall, we use language which sounds (though, it would seem, not so intended) like the ascription of self-creation to atoms, or whether we believe that Sir John Herschel and Professor Clark Maxwell are right in declaring that the atoms 'bear upon them the stamp of manufactured articles;' again it must be asked of either school, in what sense is the existence of the atoms capable of being verified? Assuredly it is not by sight, nor by the touch.

Again, many of our Agnostics—we imagine that we may include in the list Mr. Matthew Arnold and even Mr. Fitzjames Stephen—write as if they thoroughly believed in the existence of the soul. Now we cannot here pause to dwell upon the arguments of Plato and Aristotle, of Tertullian and

<sup>1</sup> Robert Browning, *The Ring and the Book*, vol. iv.

S. Augustine, of Reid and M. Nicolas, on this subject. But it is of course notorious, that another large section of Agnostics denies that the existence of the soul is capable of being verified. It is, if we have not been misinformed, an old and hackneyed jest on the part of young medical students of a materializing tendency to ask a youth, who has been engaged in his first dissection of the human frame, whether he found the soul. An ally of Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Watt, goes about the country giving lectures of this tendency, and declaring that the soul is simply the brain. Well, these and a hundred other such matters the Agnostics must settle among themselves.

Again, if they really insist in all cases on such verification as is afforded by experience, concurrence of opposing testimony ought simply to go for nothing. And yet Mr. Fitzjames Stephen (in a recent paper, which seems to us, we are sorry to say, one of extraordinary bitterness) twits believers with the differences among themselves, and seems to insinuate that he will listen to them when they are agreed. Such agreement ought, we should have supposed, to be simply placed on one side, if verification by experience be, as he seems to imply, the real and only test. But if testimony is once allowed to step in, it will be found to involve far more than the extreme wing of the Agnostic school is prepared to grant.

And yet surely those who make the lack of agreement among Christians a plea for their own scepticism, should look carefully to the question whether they are dealing quite honestly with their own hearts. In the case of every other science men allow its existence to accord with differences among its votaries. There is admitted to exist, we presume, such a thing as a science of medicine, though the divergencies between allopathy and homœopathy are by no means light. There is, again, a science of geology, though the schools represented by Hutton and by Lyell are antagonistic. Is theology to be made a solitary exception? Far be it from us to ignore the depths and difficulty of the problems which at present divide Christendom. To do so, especially in the pages of a *Review* of this character, would be as foolish as it is idle. But is there no *substratum* of agreement? When one writer of our day, in an article upon John Wesley, says, 'The Christian religion, that is to say, the redemption of men by a God made man;' when another speaks of 'the five fundamental doctrines of Christianity: the Being of God, the creation, the fall, the reparation and the judgment;' when a third describes the Gospel as the announcement, that 'man—



every man without exception—had lost the power of fulfilling and even of fully knowing his duty upon this earth, and of assuring the salvation of his soul after death, and that he thus would have perished without resource, if God had not come under human form to reopen to him the sources of virtue, of pardon, and of life. That is the whole of Christianity; there are no Christians but those who sign this symbol,—will any reasonable critic, whether he be standing within or without the pale thus drawn, deny that all such *dicta* imply the existence of what may still fairly be called the 'Creed of Christendom;' and that it would scarcely be possible for any one, on the strength of internal evidence merely, even so much as to guess to what country or to what denomination of Christians the writers belonged?<sup>1</sup>

And to touch on one more point only in this connection. Mr. Bradlaugh has been heard to describe, with great power of language, a scene which he himself had witnessed, namely, the *débris* of a railway train after an accident, the maimed passengers, and most specially a suffering infant whose arm had been torn from its socket; and then to ask his audience how they could reconcile such a fact with the Being and Providence of God? The answer of the Christian is obvious enough. Either the injured child would shortly die—as seemed most probable from the account given—and exchange a few short hours of poignant suffering for the eternal bliss won for it by a Redeemer, who lived a life and died a death of far deeper and more mysterious woe; or, if it recovered, to live a life hampered by the result of the accident, it might yet by that very misfortune be saved from many a temptation incident to vigorous health and strength, and be brought nearer to its Maker and be made partaker of a happier eternity; just as we read of one of old, who was led to the knowledge of the one true God, not by the earthly prizes, of which he had enjoyed so large a share,—not by his rank, his wealth, his favour with his sovereign, or his military successes, but by that which to himself and to those around him seemed the one cross and drawback to his happiness—the leprosy. When, however, Mr. Bradlaugh and his allies declare, that they cannot verify from nature and conscience the Christian idea of God, what will they say when they are asked to believe in 'a stream of

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, all three are Frenchmen—men of a nation who have an aptitude for terse and clear summaries and definitions—M. de Rémusat, Lacordaire, and the Duc de Broglie. But the great mass of Christians, ranging from Messrs. Moody and Sankey to Cardinal Manning, would be found to acquiesce in these statements.

tendency,' or in 'the not-ourselves, which makes for righteousness?' There is not, we believe, one particle or shred of evidence whereby such notions can be really verified more than that of the Christian's God, and those who are blind to the proofs adduced on behalf of the one will, as a rule, remain equally insensible to the other.

2. Next, as regards the negative character of Agnosticism. It may, of course, be said that it shares this with Atheism. Yet we conceive that it will be felt, both by friend and foe, that though in practice the Agnostic and the Atheist will be found to exhibit great sympathy and concurrence, the kind of negation uttered respectively by each does involve a very real kind of difference in mental attitude and character. And, as usually happens, the believer in Christianity may feel that the more recent form of opposition gains something in one way, but loses in another at least as much, most probably even more.

It gains something, in that it does not at the first do so much to startle and repel, when it falls on unaccustomed ears. There is a comparative modesty about the phrase, 'I do not know.' Moreover, the real field of human ignorance is so vast and profound; the admissions of its largeness of extent by pious and thoughtful minds, as, for instance, Pascal and Butler, are so well known, and indeed so obviously necessary, that the difference between one who accepts the definitions we have just quoted and the Agnostic may at first sight seem one of degree only. And, moreover, he escapes the difficulty of being called upon to *disprove* the propositions of the Theist or the Christian. Further, he does not come before the public weighted with that distrust which even in heathen States, especially in Athens, fell, with whatever inconsistency, on Atheism; which is suggested by the pictures drawn of the age in which Christ came, even by Renan (to say nothing of Döllinger or Canon Farrar); which has been renewed in modern times from the sequence of the Reign of Terror in Paris on the outspoken Atheism of the school of La Mettrie; a sentiment revived by the acts of the Commune in the same city in 1871.

But the Agnostic loses, in that he does not impress either the imagination or the reason with that sense of power and awe, which, terrible as it is, does result from the outspoken dogmatic force of Atheism. True, Atheism does not thus far seem to have answered; it cannot point to any signs of real progress, to any creations of art, or works of philanthropy, evidently wrought out by its creed. But it attracts by its

boldness. There will arise epochs, in which the popular mind would sooner listen to an universal negative, than to a dreary profession of ignorance concerning themes on which it imperatively demands an answer of some sort. Farther, a suspicion will arise—sometimes, perhaps (but by no means always) a very unjust one—that the Agnostic is simply shrinking, through lack of energy to look problems in the face, or through want of moral courage, from avowing what he really believes, or what his sentiments would logically imply. It was on this ground, probably, that Protagoras, whose book upon the Gods began with a profession of Agnosticism, was indicted at Athens, as being virtually an Atheist.

3. It will be found that society at large is slow to credit, in the long run, the doctrine that the silence between heaven and earth has never been broken, and that no answer can be given to the questions—‘Is there a God? Does He care for His creatures? Will He listen to prayer? Is there a life to come? Will God pardon sin? Has He placed within our reach any means for obtaining that pardon?’

That there have been seasons when those, whose special office it is to treat these solemn themes, have proved utterly unworthy of their high calling, when (as we have already observed) the temple has had again to be cleansed, is indeed most true. But the cleansing *has* come, and it will come again, whensoever and wheresoever it is most needed, for the benefit of the human race at large.

Even where a partial answer to these queries has been blended with what Christians deem some serious error, it has been listened to by millions, and exhibited a power which Agnosticism has yet to show. We, as Christians, reject the apostleship of Mahomet; we think, with Sir C. Trevelyan and Möhler, that his creed places a fatal bar upon the highest progress and welfare of the nations which accept it. But at the same time we can fully understand that the Moslem Marabout, who in some African village teaches that God is One, that idolatry is sinful, that generosity and alms-giving are well pleasing to the Almighty, that there is a judgment to come, that a revelation (largely borrowed, indeed as it is, from a true one) has been made, and that reading and writing are useful for the object of mastering the Koran as well as for secular ends, does unspeakably raise and improve the fetish worshippers whom he instructs. The same may be said of other systems, *mutatis mutandis*, in so far as they embody any portion of religious truth; and we must not here forget the

*dictum* of S. Augustine, that 'there is no false doctrine which does not intermingle with itself *some* truth.'<sup>1</sup> But whether it be classic Paganism in its nobler aspects, or the Zenda-vesta, or the Schu-King and other sacred books in China, or Brahmanism or Buddhism, they all start from the acceptance of the principle that *something* can be known concerning the relations between the world unseen and the world below; and the assertion of the Agnostic, that *nothing* can be known, is felt to be a paradox, and an attack upon the convictions of humanity the wide world over, more particularly of all its most highly endowed and energetic races.

On the whole case, then, it may, we think, be said that Agnostics will either be compelled by sheer force of logic to become the merest Secularists and Materialists, or else to make such concessions as involve the reception of a great deal more than they seem at present inclined to grant. They will never exhibit even such amount of union as has been shown by Atheists, by Deists, or by Christians, and consequently they will not on any great scale or for any length of time prove formidable opponents. He who teaches, that we cannot know whether there is or is not a personal God, does, as has been truly observed, unspeakably limit the cycle of human knowledge, of which so large a portion consists in acquaintance with the relation between Him and the created universe. But he also goes far to rob the heart of humanity of the one precious gift, which even heathen legend claimed as that heritage, of which the race of men had not been deprived, the priceless heritage of hope. There is only one place to which the abandonment of hope has been assigned, and the nations will shrink from making earth into hell, from again becoming '*as those having no hope, and without God in the world.*'

Among those who, some five-and-thirty years ago, were exercising great influence on England and her colonies, on the side of belief, some place will, we conceive, be assigned by history to the then Master of Rugby, Dr. Arnold. It is true that on both sides of him, both by those who believed less and by those who believed more, grave doubts were expressed respecting the tenableness of the position occupied by Arnold. Socinians maintained that he ought to have become one of them. Among Churchmen distrust was expressed, though on different grounds, in the columns of representative journals,

<sup>1</sup> 'Nulla falsa doctrina quæ non aliquid veri immisceat.'

such as the *Record* and the *English Churchman*. Subsequent events have not proved that the distrust was without foundation. Arnoldians cannot, as a school, be said to exist in our own day. One of the noblest specimens, Mr. T. Hughes, at the conclusion of his touching and elevating school-boy tale, appears to allude sorrowfully to a falling away of many of his old comrades from the cause of belief. Yet such men as Mr. Hughes himself and others, who might be named, must almost necessarily be representatives of many more, less distinguished but not less earnest; and it must be accepted as a tribute to the power of Dr. Arnold for good, that Mr. Swinburne should feel himself called upon to express such an intense dislike and contempt for the memory of the man who, in his judgment, had been so prominent in rearing up hosts of British Philistines—that is, we presume, men who *inter alia* are avowedly and deeply Christian.

It may be true that Dr. Arnold was very deficient in metaphysical power and in depth of insight, that logically he ought to have held less or to have held more. Still we cannot help fancying that the present generation scarcely realizes how sincere and how pervading was his belief in God, in Christ as God manifest in the flesh, and in the supernatural universe both about us and within us; how intense his hatred of evil, more especially in the forms of impurity or of oppression; how vigorous his attempts to sanctify ordinary pursuits and studies, especially his favourite ones, such as political science and history; how strong his conviction of the impossibility of preserving faith on a merely intellectual basis. We must not pause to prove these assertions in detail. But we may call (or recall) attention to the letter which he addressed to the father of a Unitarian pupil, as (to his regret) holding tenets irreconcilable with the essentials of Christianity, and his determination as a master to try to impress on this boy, as on all other pupils committed to his charge, belief in these solemn verities, if the father, after such a warning, allowed the boy to stay. We would gladly quote, if we had room, passages from his letters, on the Divinity of Christ as the central truth of the faith, on the impossibility of impartiality in religion, on his dread of an education independent of Christianity, and on his consequent resignation, on this ground, of his connection with the London University. We should also gladly cite some passages lofty in thoughts and most noble in point of expression, both from his *History of Rome* and his *Lectures on Modern History*. The last-named volume seems but little known at present, though occasionally

reviewers make use of it without such frank acknowledgment of their debt as might be desired. But we would fain call special attention to a page in the second of these lectures, wherein Dr. Arnold avows his agreement with Burke in acceptance of the truth of some of the miracles reported by Bede and other ecclesiastical historians. A more reasonable statement of the case, removed alike from excessive credulity and from hard and withering scepticism, we know not where to lay our hands upon. And, to content ourselves with one quotation, we will cite a few words from the conclusion of one of his letters addressed by him to Dr. Greenhill :

‘I believe that any man can make himself an Atheist speedily, by breaking off his own personal communion with God in Christ ; but, if he keep this unimpaired, I believe that no intellectual study, whether of nature or of man, will force him into Atheism ; but, on the contrary, the new creations of our knowledge, so to speak, gather themselves into a fair and harmonious system, ever revolving in their brightness around their proper centre, the throne of God. *Prayer and kindly intercourse with the poor are the two great safeguards of spiritual life—it is more than food and raiment.*’<sup>1</sup>

About 1849, some six years after Dr. Arnold's death, if we mistake not, came out a small volume, *The Strayed Reveller and other Poems* by A. The authorship was not a secret, and expectations which had arisen from Oxford triumphs of the poet were not disappointed. On the grace and dignity, on the elevation and purity of tone exhibited in these compositions, even when the theme selected might seem likely to lead to dangerous ground, we need not dwell. One thing, however, was obvious at a glance. The gifts displayed were unquestionably of a different kind from those of the author's father. Dr. Arnold was probably somewhat deficient in sense of beauty, in appreciation of it for its own sake. Possibly he was rather disposed to despise it apart from moral earnestness. Mr. Matthew Arnold, both in his poems and in his subsequent *Essays on Criticism*, displayed a degree of perception of the beautiful rare everywhere, but specially rare in England. But although he showed a great contempt for mere money-worship and material greatness, it could not honestly be avowed even by his greatest admirers, that it was possible to trace in these highly-finished compositions that hatred of evil, that lofty strain of morality, which is never absent from the writings of Dr. Arnold. And now that the works of the son occupy several volumes, we cannot call to mind anything at all resembling

<sup>1</sup> Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, vol. ii. p. 58. Fifth edition.



the language of his father respecting the 'Wars of the Israelites' or the treasures of history.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the latter could not possibly, we imagine, be supposed to proceed from Mr. Matthew Arnold's pen, because we believe him to be too honest to pretend to that which he does not, however inconsistently, really feel at the time he writes it. One marked feature of difference—and it involves, we suspect, a greater amount of divergence than might be thought by careless observers—is apparent in the feeling entertained respectively by the father and the son towards Goethe. Never, we believe, is that great genius quoted or even mentioned in the prose and poetry of Matthew Arnold without marks of the deepest

<sup>1</sup> Knowing how often Reviews are read under circumstances unfavourable for reference, we think it may be well to define our meaning by subjoining a part of one of the passages to which we refer, and the whole, as it is very short, of the other:—

'It is better that the wicked should be destroyed a hundred times over than that they should tempt those who are as yet innocent to join their company. Let us but think what might have been our fate, and the fate of every other nation under heaven, at this hour, had the sword of the Israelites done its work more sparingly. Even as it was, the small portion of the Canaanites who were left, and the nations around them, so tempted the Israelites by their idolatrous practices that we read continually of the whole people of God turning away from His service. But had the heathen lived in the land in equal numbers, and, still more, had they intermarried largely with the Israelites, how was it possible, humanly speaking, that any sparks of the light of God's truth should have survived to the coming of Christ? . . . The Israelites' sword, in its bloodiest executions, wrought a work of mercy for all the countries of the earth to the very end of the world. . . . The Israelites fought not for themselves only, but for us. It might follow that they should thus be accounted the enemies of all mankind—it might be that they were tempted by their very distinctness to despise other nations; still they did God's work—still they preserved unhurt the seed of eternal life, and were the ministers of blessing to all other nations, even though they themselves failed to enjoy it.'—*Sermons*, vi. 35-37, quoted in Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, pp. 253-5.

'Enough has been said, I think, to show that history contains no mean treasures; that, as being the biography of a nation, it partakes of the richness and variety of those elements which make up a nation's life. Whatever there is of greatness in the final cause of all human thought and action, God's glory and man's perfection, that is the measure of the greatness of history. Whatever there is of variety and intense interest in human nature—in its elevation, whether proud as by nature or sanctified as by God's grace; in its suffering, whether blessed or unblest, a martyrdom or a judgment; in its strange reverses, in its varied adventures, in its yet more varied powers, its courage and its patience, its genius and its wisdom, its justice and its love—that is also the measure of the interest and variety of history. The treasures indeed are ample; but we may more reasonably fear whether we may have strength and skill to win them.'—*Lectures on Modern History*: Inaugural Lecture, pp. 21-2.

approbation of the man as a truly wise and trustworthy teacher. But of Dr. Arnold his biographer informs us that 'he had a strong feeling against Goethe.' It was not merely that Goethe's gift of insight, varied and marvellous as it is, looks so almost entirely cold and *ab extra* as it were, but that he could not pardon his irreverence.

'I cannot,' he said, 'speaking of *Faust*, get over the introduction. If it had been by one without any relation to God or to his fellow-creatures, it would be different; but in a human being it is not to be forgiven. To give entirely without reverence a representation of God is in itself blasphemous.'

It must, however, in fairness be said that Mr. Matthew Arnold has a really sincere appreciation of piety. His recognition of the beauties of Bishop Wilson's *Sacra Privata*, of the *Imitatio Christi* commonly ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, is undoubtedly real and unfeigned; and nothing can be more just than the distinction pointed out by him in a recent contribution to the *Contemporary Review* between the tone of the devout men of the seventeenth and of the eighteenth century respectively, even when the later age is represented by so grand a specimen as Butler. He is thoroughly convinced that the world cannot live upon physical science only, that it needs other knowledge besides that of the inductive sciences, that it must have as a condition of true progress some sort of religion, and that his powers of wit and sarcasm may be rightfully directed against those who preach the opposite tenets.

Nevertheless, with a strangely illogical temper, Mr. Matthew Arnold desires to see the fruits of religion flourish and abound, while he applies the axe of his criticism to the roots of the tree on which they grow. He has announced in terms not to be mistaken (1) that he considers that culture may supply all and something more than all that religion can give; (2) that he is an Agnostic, and does not know whether the 'not-ourselves which makes for righteousness' is a person or a thing; (3) that any educated man who teaches the mystery of the Holy Incarnation must be perfectly aware that he is merely talking clap-trap; (4) that revelation is a non-entity, and that belief in miracles will die out in a generation or two; (5) that he is justified in insulting the millions, who accept the creed of Christendom, by the use of language which, as he well knows, will sound to them most irreverent and blasphemous. On all these points we desire in conclusion to say something.

1. On the relation of culture to man's highest welfare we shall not dwell, because it has been most admirably discussed

in a little volume which can be easily procured, and which we shall be glad to make more widely known. Principal Shairp, of the University of St. Andrews, has devoted one of the lectures in his *Culture and Religion* to the consideration of the subject;<sup>1</sup> and though Mr. Arnold, as an old and valued friend of the author, is treated with a gentleness, which he certainly does not exhibit towards the objects of *his* criticism, we are quite content to refer our readers to the graceful but at the same time powerful treatment of the question there contained.

2. The plainest avowal of Mr. Arnold's Agnosticism is contained in the first chapter of his latest volume, entitled *God and the Bible*:

'We assure the *Edinburgh Reviewer* that we do not assert God to be a thing. All we say is that men do not know enough about the Eternal not-ourselves that makes for righteousness, to warrant their pronouncing this either a person or a thing. We say that no one has discovered the nature of God to be personal, or is entitled to assert that God has conscious intelligence. We want to rest religion on what can be verified, not on what cannot.'

On this head we have already said perhaps more than enough. But we may express our entire assent to Dean Goulburn in making his own the language of Dr. Newman on this topic. 'Dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion: I know no other religion: I cannot enter into the idea of any other sort of religion; religion, as a mere sentiment, is to me a dream and a mockery. As well can there be filial love without the fact of a father as devotion without the fact of a Supreme Being.' But a God who may possibly, for aught we know, be devoid 'of conscious intelligence' is not a *Supreme* Being; for in the event of not having it, he is below us and not above us. Such a god is simply the god of Pantheism, and, as Mr. Disraeli has truly said, 'Pantheism is only Atheism in domino. What is a Creator who is unconscious of creating?' Even doubt on such a vital point must be fatal to all true religion—we do not say in this or that individual, for there seems scarcely any limit to the idiosyncrasies of individuals,—but fatal to all true religion on any large scale and for any continuous term of years.

3. Mr. Arnold evidently lays down, at least by implication, the following canon of credibility:—'Whatsoever has not been proved to the satisfaction of me, Matthew Arnold, cannot have been proved to the satisfaction of any other man

<sup>1</sup> *Culture and Religion in some of their Relations*. Third edition. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872.)

of sane and cultivated intellect. Those, therefore, who profess any such tenet, unless they belong to the *profanum vulgus* which is ignorant of culture, must be consciously talking clap-trap.' Such a state of mind has been common in all ages, though it is specially common in our own.

But is it truly philosophic? Will it bear the test of application? Let any Christian historian sit down to write the annals, say of the Mahometan rule in Spain, and preface with the remark: 'I do not believe in the apostleship of Mahomet: it is consequently impossible that the cultivated sovereigns who ruled in Cordova and built the exquisite Alhambra can have believed it. On their lips the cry, "There is no God but God; and Mahomet is his prophet," must have been so much clap-trap;' and let us see how much credit such a narrator will gain on the score of tolerance and charity.

The doctrine of the transmigration of the souls of men into the bodies of the lower creatures is probably rejected everywhere throughout cultivated Europe. Are we therefore to conceive that among the more cultivated Egyptians, or in the system of such a man as Pythagoras, it was a merely hollow and insincere profession of belief? On Mr. Arnold's principles, we should, if we are not mistaken, be bound to think thus. When Xenophanes of Elea, the contemporary of Pythagoras, describes in elegiac verse how that sage implored a man to desist from the maltreatment of a hound, on the ground that he recognized in the cries of the animal a voice proceeding from the soul of a friend, Bishop Thirlwall could only conceive that the poet intended to treat the doctrine 'with deserved ridicule.' We own that here the comment of Mr. Grote strikes us as being, in this instance, far more probable, far more philosophic:

*'Religious opinions are so apt to appear ridiculous to those who do not believe them, that such a suspicion is not unnatural; yet I think, if Xenophanes had been so disposed, he would have found more ridiculous examples among the many which this doctrine might suggest. Indeed it seems hardly possible to present the metempsychosis in a more touching or respectable point of view than that which the lines of his poem set forth. The particular animal selected is that one between whom and man the sympathy is most marked and reciprocal, while the doctrine is made to enforce a practical lesson against cruelty.'*<sup>1</sup>

But in Mr. Arnold's case we do not see how we can possibly avoid the conclusion—it is with real regret that we

<sup>1</sup> *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 532, note.

mention it, but it seems to us to be a duty—that he must believe his own father to have talked clap-trap throughout all his life. When the late Bishop Wilberforce is found speaking of doing something for the honour of our Lord's Godhead, Mr. Arnold declares, in the introduction to the work before us, that the Bishop

'must know, if he is sincere with himself, that he is solemnly giving a semblance of conceivability, fixity, and certainty to notions which do not possibly admit of them. *He must know this, and yet he gives it, because it suits his purpose or because the public or a large body of the public desire it; and this is clap-trap*'—(p. 23.)

We cannot pause to reflect upon the admirable charity of the words which we have italicized, but we do feel compelled to ask in *what essential particular* the language of Dr. Samuel Wilberforce differs from that of Dr. Thomas Arnold. We select from the writings of the latter one specimen out of many that might be cited, though we may remark in passing that of course *we* see no harm in speaking of Holy Fathers in cases where they were holy men, still less of the Holy Church, when it is regarded as the creation of God, as the spouse of Christ :

'Now for Bourges a little more. In the crypt is a Calvary, and figures as large as life representing the burying of our Lord. The woman who showed us the crypt had her little girl with her; she lifted up the child, about three years old, to kiss the feet of our Lord. Is this idolatry? Nay verily it may be so, but it need not be, and assuredly is in itself right and natural. I confess I rather envied the child. It is idolatry to talk about Holy Church and Holy Fathers—bowing down to fallible and sinful men—not to bend knee, lip, and heart to every thought and every image of Him, our manifested God.'<sup>1</sup>

This will explain what we mean when we venture to regard Dr. Arnold, despite many deficiencies, as enlisted on the side of belief; and it may possibly suggest a reason for that silence of his son, which so surprised many, on the occasion of the assault by Mr. Swinburne,—a silence the more remarkable when compared with the verses written by Mr. Arnold as poet over his father's tomb, verses of which we do not doubt the sincerity any more than we question their exceeding beauty. But such inconsistencies are an inevitable result of the position which Mr. Arnold attempts to take up. Mr. Swinburne preaches voluptuousness and immorality, and writes as one who seems to hate Christianity because it makes a crusade against vice. Mr. Arnold really loves Christian purity

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, vol. ii. p. 406.

and virtue; but, as he would fain remove some of the greatest of all allurements to them, we cannot but feel that the author of *Atalanta* occupies a far more consistent position than the author of the *Church of Brou*.

One word more as to the clap-trap. A Christian, who holds that the being of a personal God and Father is proved by the light of reason and conscience, considers that a revelation of the Divine Will proceeding from such a Being is a natural and reasonable supposition. In cherishing such a belief he has the support of a strong body of modern Atheists (especially those living in France and Germany) who maintain that the position of Theists such as Voltaire and Tom Paine is utterly untenable. And if such Christians consider the position, in which a high-minded Socinian, such as Channing, would fain have rested, equally inconsistent, they find thus far a vigorous ally in the person of M. Ernest Renan. Now let us suppose that their belief in the Incarnation, whether traditional or not, is based on the acceptance of a revelation, and the interpretation of that revelation furnished by the Creed of Nicæa and the writings of its defenders from S. Athanasius to Bull and Waterland, to Canon Liddon and Mr. Row. Does it in the slightest degree surprise them that their creed does, in the words of Mr. Grote, 'appear ridiculous to those who do not believe it?' Surely this is only what has happened and will happen again and again. We read of the manifestation of such sentiments in books of travel in the East, and in a conversation held some fifty years ago by a politician of that day with Mr. Wilberforce. And it was no doubt the consciousness that such a feeling would be entertained, that made Tertullian suggest that in this case the very strangeness of the belief might seem to afford one argument in favour of its not being a merely human invention. We do not, of course, urge that such a consideration can stand alone or reach very far. Yet it might make some opponents of Christianity who had a little charity pause before they accused the long line of its defenders from Origen to Dr. Arnold of merely talking what they knew to be clap-trap.

4. There seems to us every reason to rejoice that Mr. Arnold has put forward this volume in defence of his *Literature and Dogma*, inasmuch as we are convinced that it will be found to have decidedly weakened his position and influence. Such a conviction may, in our case, seem to result from the mere effect of prejudice, from our seeing only what we wish to see. Let us turn, then, to the comments of two



or three critics, who have no such abhorrence as we have, of the principles inculcated in these works. Thus, for example, perhaps the most ingenious parts of the present volume refer to the formation of the Canon and to the Fourth Gospel. And as sceptical works are constantly crossing each other's lines, and like Jason's armed hosts destroy each other; as it is possible that some listened to Celsus teaching of judgment to come, who would not listen to Origen; as some in the Paris of our own day have been brought by Renan to read and accept the Holy Gospels—even so it is possible that the weaknesses of the Tübingen school may to some minds become apparent when exposed by Mr. Matthew Arnold. But what of his own theory? Here is the comment of his friendly critic in the *Athenæum* (No. 2511):—

'After all the ingenuity and undoubted critical ability displayed in the present volume, the view of the Fourth Gospel which it advocates is improbable. The sacred book has plan and unity; it bears the impress of a single writer; and if, as Mr. Arnold thinks, the writer has confused places, events, incidents, if he has buried hints of facts under additions, and made or repeated stories of miracles built up on a *logion* or two of Jesus's, it is hard to find the genuine traditional sayings of Jesus. They cannot be easily disentangled from their surroundings; and the specimens of disentanglement here given are, to say the least, improbable.'

On the same subject the *Westminster Reviewers* employ the following language:—

'Vigour and rigour in *excelsis*, did ever German professor the like? Now that Mr. Arnold is fairly at work, he can select, reject, accept, restore, suppress, divide, and join, with the best professor of them all. What with his original themes, his variations, his apostle, his theological lecturer, and all the rest of it, he has succeeded in producing—though he apparently seeks to save his credit by only partially working out—one of the most "vigorous and rigorous," and *decidedly the most improbable of all the current theories of the origin of the Fourth Gospel.*'<sup>1</sup>

Another, a Northern critic, in a paper which had highly, we think most extravagantly, eulogized *Literature and Dogma*, observed that the present defence was very much of that sort, which consists in just saying the same thing over again, and he ends his account of the book, considered as a whole, by saying:

'It is impossible not to regret with many of his admirers that Mr. Arnold does not now relinquish his present labours, and devote

<sup>1</sup> *Westminster Review*, January 1876, p. 223.

literary gifts which charmed all in his *Essays on Criticism* and poetical power which produced *Empedocles on Etna* to work which will not stir mere passing controversy, but which will permanently enrich our literature.'

4. And what shall be said as to the tone employed? Mr. Arnold does not, perhaps, intend to outrage reverential sentiment as Mr. Stuart Glennie or the late Lord Amberley. Yet his insensibility to the wounded feelings of Christians is strange enough in all conscience. Lest a description from our pen be thought open to suspicion, we give one of some length from an intense admirer of this volume in its literary aspects. We are responsible for the italics:

'As far as we can understand Mr. Arnold's mental attitude, it is this :—The world is divided into two classes,—those who have read (and appreciated) *Literature and Dogma*, and those who have not. The latter class is at present numerous, but it is intrinsically insignificant, and tends in the nature of things constantly to reduce itself towards a vanishing-point. We will, therefore, ignore it. The former class, having read *Literature and Dogma*, proceeded to read the Bible, and had just begun to enjoy it, when it was disturbed by certain bishops, metaphysicians, and critics, who—each in his sort—endeavoured to show that *Literature and Dogma* was not entirely to be trusted. Upon this the readers of *Literature and Dogma* turn anxiously to Mr. Arnold: "They want to know what they are to think of these things," and of course their prophet is equal to the occasion. Hence, these "Answers"—addressed, like the Hampshire farmer's oration, to "most thinking people," i.e. to admirers of *Literature and Dogma*. *This unparalleled self-assertion is aggravating to a high degree*; but Mr. Arnold's delicious freshness and raciness can carry off anything, and with whatever feelings we take up and read this book, it is impossible long to resist its fascination, or to lay it down again unless we are absolutely compelled to do so. *But as to whether this intense enjoyment in any way "makes for righteousness," we must confess to having grave doubts. We fear it is the carnal, and not the spiritual man that is refreshed.* Considered as *sport*, what can be finer than to watch Mr. Arnold "baiting" a bishop! The unhappy ecclesiastic is chained by his position and his antecedents, and the brilliant *littérateur*, unrestrained and reckless, darts round and round his victim, dodges in and out to dig him in the ribs or pinch him black and blue, skips behind him to twitch his hair, and is all the while bubbling over with half-repressed yet wholly irrepressible laughter! And when the miserable victim, who has to retain his dignity (!) under all this, turns round at last and hits out wildly, his assailant suddenly assumes an aspect of grave expostulation, and standing well out of his reach, tells him he wonders how he can be so frivolous.'

<sup>1</sup> *Westminster Review*, January 1876, p. 221.

This is the gentleman, be it remembered, who maintains that the Christians, with such champions as Athanasius, Augustine, Malebranche, Pascal, Butler, are (as Celsus declared) wanting in 'intellectual seriousness.' In our eyes a man of culture and really brilliant powers, who can justly lay himself open to such a description as the above, is an object of deep pity. Capable at moments of serious and even sad reflection, he has chosen to make himself at other times a literary buffoon, and he must take the consequence.

We had intended to devote a page or two to Mr. Arnold's confusion of such a miracle as that of the Resurrection of our Lord, intimately interwoven (as even Bolingbroke could see) with an entire system which has changed the face of the world, and for which (as his friend Celsus admits) many have been content to die, with isolated prodigies narrated by an Herodotus or Livy, prodigies in nowise bound up with the essence of their respective histories. But we have already in our latest number devoted an entire article to this subject.

We had also meant to dwell a little upon what seems to us the perfectly childish nature of Mr. Arnold's slight and superficial digression into philology, and the conclusions he would thence deduce, and further to compare his utterly incorrect account of the teaching of the Old Testament concerning our Maker—not with Fathers and Divines whom he would set at nought—but with all that is implied in the biography of Spinoza, with the language of Arthur Hallam and of Niebuhr, with the really correct account given by Strauss. Here, again, we too have, to a considerable extent, been anticipated by the critics from whom we have already borrowed; and therefore we again avail ourselves of their remarks. We are again partially responsible for the italics:

'Then we leave the bishops for a moment and turn upon the metaphysicians. Here we encounter once more that peculiar species of satirical mock-humility in which Mr. Arnold is altogether inimitable. "This is the best fooling, when all is done!" but if it is even indirectly to serve any further purpose than that of amusement, the author had better continue his researches in "Walton's noble Polyglott Bible," or gain some elementary knowledge (a very little will do) of Hebrew. When he has done so, he will not (on the strength of the derivation of the Hebrew verb "to be" from a root signifying "to breathe") coquet with such a restoration as "our God *breathes* a jealous God," for "is a jealous God;" for he will perceive that in all the passages in which this expression occurs in our Bibles the original has no verb at all, but simply lets the attribute lie in juxtaposition with the subject.

'As to his idea of what God means in the Bible, viz. the Eternal

not-ourselves that makes for righteousness, we believe it to be inadequate. The writer is so intent upon getting something that can be verified, that he disowns the conception of God as a Person, and fixes instead upon "a law or power not ourselves." His description of Israel's belief on this subject is imperfect and incorrect. Idealizing Israel's religious character as he does, he attributes to the Jews a conception of his own; for there is little doubt that the Old Testament exhibits a prevailing belief in a *Personal* Being. The Psalter is full of it. Hence the appropriation of the Absolute Spirit by the pious mind. "O God, thou art *my* God." . . . Mr. Arnold is right in emphasizing *righteousness* as the great requirement of the Eternal in the Old Testament; but he seeks needlessly after what can be verified, because faith is the prominent feature and feeling of religion—faith in an Absolute Spirit ever present and operating, who is the Father of men, to be loved and obeyed because He is good. He may call this God "a magnified and non-natural man;" but the Eternal power not ourselves presents what it is difficult to *love* with all the heart. If the language of the Bible be approximative and full of figure, nothing is gained by discarding the idea of a personal God, and putting "an eternal law not ourselves" instead of it; nor can any valid objection be made to the use of *Being* or *Spirit* as applied to Him. It is superior to the indefinite something of Mr. Arnold's imagining, and can even be better realized than his, inasmuch as the human heart feels the need of a *near* God, whom it can love with earnest affection, and enjoy with intense comfort.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Arnold is fond of trying to point his arrows with barbs taken from the storehouses of deceased sceptics, from Celsus down to Strauss. Thus we find him, at p. 42 of the present Essay, borrowing from Strauss a phrase concerning 'the paper fortifications which theologians choose to set up.' Well, there is a sense in which we fully grant that these words are not without their measure of truth. It is no doubt possible to exaggerate the value of fortifications as part of the edifices which go to make up the City of God. There may be cases in which they may cumber the ground, and in which assailants may be fully justified in describing them as sources of weakness. Their precise value must depend on a variety of considerations. It is not the materials only of the construction that have to be taken into account, but likewise the needs of a given age, the kind of warfare that is afoot. All this, however, has been fully thought out and discussed again and again from the believing side. It was done, for instance, by the leaders in the Tractarian movement of 1833, and again (with great ability and fairness) by Bishop Fitzgerald, in an essay contained in *Aids to Faith*. Sometimes experience proves the bricks to have

<sup>1</sup> *Westminster Review*, January 1876, p. 221.

been daubed with untempered mortar, and the wall gives way and falls by its own weight. Sometimes, though the materials are not bad in themselves, they may be out of due proportion, and may be leant upon with too great a confidence. But in any case it is we who, in the long-run, are the gainers by the discovery, and among the unconscious services rendered by scepticism to faith, none ranks higher than the ever renewed compulsion to look well to our foundations. We will say more. Standing by themselves, apart from that other building of which the *Civitas Dei* is made up—holiness and the love of God,—apart from prayer and meditation, apart from good works, from Christian life, from Christian philanthropy and zeal against abuses, the best fortifications will prove of little worth, and, badly manned, may even incur the sarcasm of the tongue of scorn, which describes them as needing no more assault than if only made of paper. But there is a set of things, in comparison with which the weakest fortifications on the Christian side may well seem enduring and valuable; and these are the would-be battering-rams and scaling-ladders, and tools for mining on the other side. Talk at will, O sons of Celsus and of Strauss, of our paper defences; who shall count up the paper attacks which our defences have outlived, and will continue to outlive?

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## ART. II.—THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

1. *The Egyptians in the Time of the Pharaohs.* By Sir J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S. To which is added an *Introduction to the Study of the Egyptian Hieroglyphs*, by SAMUEL BIRCH. (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1857.)
2. *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians.* By J. G. WILKINSON, F.R.S., M.R.S.L., &c. First and Second Series. 5 vols. (London: Murray, 1837—1841.)
3. *Egypt's Place in Universal History: An Historical Investigation in Five Books.* By CHRISTIAN C. J. BUNSEN, D.Ph., D.C.L. With Notes and Additions by SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D. 5 vols. (London: Longmans, 1867.)
4. *The Monumental History of Egypt, as recorded on the Ruins of her Temples, Palaces, and Tombs.* By WILLIAM OSBURN, R.S.L. 2 vols. (London: Trübner, 1854.)
5. *Mélanges Egyptologiques. Deuxième Série.* Par F. CHABAS. (Châlon-sur-Saône: 1864.)
6. *Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique d'après les Sources Egyptiennes.* Par F. CHABAS. (Paris: 1872.)
7. *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter.* Von C. RICHARD LEPSIUS. Erste Abtheilung. Text- und Dynastientafeln. (Berlin: 1858.)
8. *Essay on the Bearings of Egyptian History upon the Pentateuch.* By F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter, in Vol. I. of *Speaker's Commentary*. (Murray: 1871.)
9. *Records of the Past: Being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments.* Edited by S. BIRCH, LL.D. 5 vols. (Bagster: 1875.)

‘Is it not marvellous,’ wrote Dr. Arnold forty years ago, ‘that they can now read the old Egyptian readily, and understand its grammar! These Egyptian discoveries are likely to be one of the greatest wonders of our age.’ The progress of Egyptology since these words were written, if not as complete as the most ardent student may desire, has nevertheless done much towards the elucidation and illustration of the Mosaic record; and it is not too much to say that when the cemeteries of Memphis, Thebes, and Avaris shall have been thoroughly



explored, every incident in the pastoral life of the Israelites in Egypt, every art employed in the fabrication of the Tabernacle in the wilderness, every allusion in Scripture to the rites, customs, and laws of the land of bondage, from which they had been so miraculously delivered, will find its counterpart in the monumental history of Egypt; and we shall possess a commentary of unrivalled interest and value upon the Pentateuch, as well as on the later historical and prophetic books of the Bible. Even with our present knowledge we can scarcely suppose it possible that any one with the slightest acquaintance with the subject would commit himself to the following extraordinary statement, made by an ex-Bishop of the Church of England within the last ten years: 'All the details of the story of the Exodus, as recorded in the Pentateuch, again and again assent to *propositions as monstrous and absurd as the statement in arithmetic would be that two and two make five*. . . . There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the first writer of the story in the Pentateuch ever professed to be recording infallible truth, or even actual *historical truth*. He wrote certainly a narrative. But what indications are there that he published it at large, even to the people of his own time, as a record of matter of fact, *veracious history*?'<sup>1</sup> This statement is the more extraordinary as Ewald, the great German critic, and a leader in the school to which the writer is said to belong, asserts positively in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, that 'the historical existence of Moses is indubitably proved.' And the late Dean Milman has no hesitation in declaring in his *History of the Jews*, that 'the internal evidence in respect to the genuineness of the Mosaic records is to me conclusive. All attempts to assign a later period for the authorship, or even for the compilation, though made by scholars of the highest ability, are so *irreconcilable with facts*, so self-destructive, and so mutually destructive, that I acquiesce without hesitation in their general antiquity'—(vol. i. p. 46).

The key which has opened the literary treasures of Egypt to the inquiring student, and has revealed what may not inappropriately be termed 'sermons in stones,' as well as 'God in everything,' is the famous Rosetta Stone, which now adorns the British Museum. In the year 1799, M. Boussard, an officer of Napoleon's army in Egypt, while superintending some works at the city of Rosetta, discovered, at a depth of four feet below the surface, the fragment of an oblong square slab of black basalt, from the 'far Syene.' It bore a trilingual inscription,

<sup>1</sup> *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically Examined*. By Bishop Colenso. Part ii. pp. 370, 375.

the upper one being in hieroglyphs, the lower one in Greek, while the centre was in a character known as the Enchorial or Demotic, a style which came into use about 600 B.C. The Greek text showed that the inscription was in honour of Ptolemy Epiphanes, B.C. 205.

Recent researches by Mr. Harris have proved that this monument was originally set up in a temple at Memphis, erected by Pharaoh Nechoh, the conqueror of King Josiah, and dedicated to *Tum* or *Tomos*, which appears to represent both 'the rising' as well as 'the setting sun.' The battle of Alexandria, and the subsequent surrender of the city, placed the stone in the hands of Mr. Hamilton, author of the *Egyptiaca*, and Government Commissioner with the British army; when it was despatched at once to England, and thus permanently located in the British Museum, in place of adorning the Louvre at Paris. As copies of the inscription became dispersed through Europe, its decipherment appeared possible. Heyne and Porson, by restoring the Greek text, greatly facilitated this desirable end. Dr. Thomas Young had the honour of being the first to solve the problem of translating a hieroglyphic inscription, and so rapid was his progress, that in less than a year after the commencement of such studies, he was enabled to offer to the literary world 'a conjectured translation of the Egyptian inscription of the Rosetta Stone.'<sup>1</sup> The system which Dr. Young originated has been confirmed and vastly extended by the genius of the two Champollions, De Rougé, Mariette, and Chabas, amongst the French; Lepsius and Brugsch amongst the Germans; and of our own countrymen who have given themselves to such studies we can produce the not less distinguished name of Samuel Birch, who, by his rendering of the *Egyptian Ritual, or Book of the Dead* (parts of which are some centuries older than the Pentateuch), has earned the just eulogium of the late Baron Bunsen, who pronounced it to be 'the blue ribbon of Egyptology.'

So rapid has been the progress of reading the records of ancient Egypt, that not only have a large number of inscriptions, both of the hieroglyphic monuments as well as the hieratic papyri, been translated into the four principal languages of Europe, but in two instances at least the vernacular of England and Germany has been converted into the tongue of the Pharaohs through the skill and perseverance of our present Egyptologists. Probably a very limited number of the visitors to the Crystal Palace at Sydenham are aware that an

<sup>1</sup> Arago, *Eloge Historique du Dr. T. Young*. Paris, 1802.

inscription in the language of ancient Egypt circumscribes one of its most beautiful courts, telling those who are capable of deciphering hieroglyphic mysteries the age and object of all to be seen around. In English it would read as follows:—

‘In the seventeenth year of the reign of Her Majesty, the Ruler of the Waves, the Royal Daughter Victoria, Lady Most Gracious, the architects, sculptors, and painters erected this palace and gardens, with 1,000 columns, 1,000 decorations, 1,000 statues of chief men and women, 1,000 trees, 1,000 flowers, 1,000 birds, 1,000 beasts, 1,000 fountains, and 1,000 vases. The architects, painters, and sculptors built this palace as a book for the instruction of all countries, regions, and districts. May it ever prosper.’

The wanderer in the East may now read an inscription of a far more pretentious character in the same language and of nearly the same date in a locality where, if there be less of the combined beauty of nature and art than exists at Sydenham, we should more naturally expect to light upon an historical record in characters which disclose their origin, but whose decipherment, for nigh 2,000 years, has been lost to the literary world. On a large and carefully prepared stone slab, at some height over the entrance to the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, is the inscription,<sup>1</sup> which may be thus translated:—

‘Thus speak the servants of the King, whose name is the Sun and Rock of Prussia, Lepsius the scribe, Erbkam the architect, the brothers Weidenback the painters, Frey the painter, Franke

<sup>1</sup> A curious story is connected with this inscription. When the Emperor of China in 1866 sent an Embassy to the European courts, one *Pin-chi-un*, a literary attaché to the Legation, wrote an account for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen of the marvellous sights he had seen in the regions of the West. Amongst other things he records a visit to the Great Pyramid, and makes special mention of this ‘inscription on a slab stone’ above the entrance, which he describes as follows:—‘The inscription is in ten columns of about 100 characters, resembling those found on our ancient bells and vases. About one-third of the inscription can be read, but the remainder has perished under the corroding power of time, and is wholly undecipherable. Some savant should take a rubbing of the characters and bring it to China for the purpose of instituting a comparison with the inscriptions of our own monuments. They might then be deciphered without difficulty, and the period from which they date be accurately ascertained. Although other inscriptions exist both above and below, the characters here seem to belong to the European alphabets; and that the one referred to above actually dates from the period of the Three Dynasties in China (i.e. circa B.C. 2200—B.C. 300), and is no forgery, may be positively asserted!’ If this be a typical specimen of Chinese wisdom and criticism, we may say that though Chinamen as well as Anglo-Saxons ‘run to and fro,’ we can hardly think that ‘knowledge is increased’ thereby.

the farmer, Bonomi the sculptor, Wild the architect. Hail to the Eagle, Shelterer of the Cross, the King, the Sun and Rock of Prussia, the Son of the Sun, Freer of the land, Frederick William IV., the Philopater, Father of his country Most Gracious, Favourite of Wisdom and History, Guardian of the Rhine, the Elect of Germany, Giver of Life. May the Most High God grant the King and his Consort, the Queen Elizabeth, the Philometer, Mother of her country Most Gracious, a happy life on earth, and a blessed habitation in heaven for ever. In the year of the Christian era 1842, in the tenth month, and the fifteenth day of the month, on the forty-seventh birthday of His Majesty, on the pyramid of King Chufu, in the third year, the fifth month, the ninth day of the reign of His Majesty, in the year 3164, from the commencement of the Sothic Cycle under Pharaoh Manepthah.'

Without stopping to criticize these contemporary inscriptions, we think they afford satisfactory proof of the progress which the study of hieroglyphics has made amongst European scholars in the present day, and some warrant for our accepting their reading of the Egyptian monuments in confirmation of the history of the Israelites as revealed in Scripture. Unhappily, some Egyptologists have either denied or perverted such evidence, in disregard of the expressed opinion of the most famous of them all. Alluding to these sceptics, the elder Champollion wrote :—

'They will find in this work an absolute reply to their calumnies, since I have demonstrated that no Egyptian monument is really older than the year 2200 B.C. This certainly is very high antiquity, but it presents nothing contradictory to the sacred histories, and I venture to affirm that it establishes them on all points ; for it is, in fact, by adopting the chronology and the succession of kings given by the Egyptian monuments, that the Egyptian history accords with the sacred writings.'<sup>1</sup>

Champollion was slightly mistaken in supposing that no Egyptian monument was really older than B.C. 2200, for subsequent discoveries have proved that the tablet now in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, contains the record of a king whose reign may be approximately dated about B.C. 2300, and therefore a century older than any monument known to the learned Frenchman ; and inasmuch as the tablet, whose history appears to be but little known, affords a valuable instance of the progress of Egyptology, we pause for a few moments to consider its details.

The late Baron Bunsen, in the second volume of his *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, published in 1854, about a quarter of a century after the time of Champollion, says :

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Egypt : its Monuments and History*, p. 56.

'No place is found for an old monarch mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*, King Goose, in Egyptian *Scut*, whose scutcheon we give phonetically and figuratively. *He may as well have been one of the unchronological kings before Menes*'—(p. 112). About ten years later Herr Dümichen, following out the indications first given by Mariette Bey, the director of the Pasha's Museum at Boulaque, discovered amid the ruins of the Temple of Osiris, at Abydos, 'the New Tablet of Abydos,' as it is termed, in order to distinguish it from the older one which Mr. Banks had brought from the same ruins about half a century previously, and given to the British Museum. Both of these tablets contained originally the list of kings from Menes, the proto-monarch of Egypt, down to Pharaoh Seti I. and his son, better known in history by the name of Ramesses the Great. The value of the New Tablet consists in the fact that the list is perfect from beginning to end,<sup>1</sup> whereas in the older one none of the kings of the first six dynasties are to be found; and many lacunæ are visible in other parts. As we find on this New Tablet the name of this very King *Scut*, the thirteenth in succession from Menes (which is a sufficient answer to Bunsen's implication of his being one of the 'unchronological kings' before the time of Menes, who all agree was the proto-monarch of Egypt), we think it probable that he must be the same as the Mizraim of Scriptures, mentioned in Genesis x. 6 as the son of *Ham*, and as the undoubted first colonizer of the land which was subsequently called after his father's name.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an admirable drawing and account of this valuable monument, see the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, Nov. 1864, edited by Professor Lepsius.

<sup>2</sup> 'Israel also came into Egypt; and Jacob sojourned in the land of *Ham*.'—*Psalm* cv. 23. As some Egyptologists are vehemently opposed to the identification of Mizraim with Menes, we may mention that Syncellus' Canon of the kings of Egypt, formerly called *Mestrea*, begins in this wise: '*Mestram* who is Menes: he reigned thirty-five years.'—Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 139. An American work of great pretensions and singular errors as regards Egyptology, entitled *Types of Mankind*, by Nott and Gliddon, p. 494, seems to be unnecessarily irate, because believers in the genuineness of the books of Moses accept the teaching of Genesis x. 6, and believe that Mizraim was the colonizer of Egypt, the son of Ham, and consequently the grandson of Noah. These Biblical critics think it becoming to term such belief as 'Judaizing Christian imposture!' Remembering the advice of the wise king of Israel 'not to answer a fool according to his folly,' we are content with the testimony of Josephus, when describing 'the grandchildren of Noah, in honour of whom names were imposed on the nations by those who first took possession . . . . Hence the memory of the Mesraites is preserved in their name; for all we Jews call Egypt *Mestre*, and the Egyptians *Mestreans*.'—*Antiq.* i. v. § 2.

Thus, then, the Oxford tablet, which contains the name of this same King *Sent*, taken from the tomb of a priest named 'Shera,' who is represented with his wife, a relative of that king, making offerings to their deceased ancestors, may be regarded as a record of Manetho's second dynasty, and the oldest sign of man on earth, notwithstanding all which speculators of the antiquity of man have said to the contrary. Moreover, as this chronology so far harmonizes with that deducible from Scripture, it may be well to consider how far this really proves to be true.

Bunsen, in speaking of the received Biblical chronology according to Archbishop Ussher's computation, observes: 'As regards the Jewish computation of time, the study of Scripture has long convinced me that there is in the Old Testament no connected chronology *prior to Solomon*. All that now passes for a system of ancient chronology beyond that fixed point is the melancholy legacy of the 17th and 18th centuries; a compound of intentional deceit and utter misconception of the principles of historical research. It is in Egyptian history, if anywhere, that materials are to be gathered for the foundation of a chronology of the oldest history of nations.'<sup>1</sup>

Hence Bunsen, after making certain calculations concerning the rate of sinkage of the alluvial deposits in the mud of the Nile, comes to the conclusion that 'man existed on earth about 20,000 B.C.,' adding 'that there is no *valid reason* for assuming a more remote beginning of our race.'<sup>2</sup> But it is equally a question with all students of chronology whether there is any 'valid reason' for accepting Baron Bunsen's date as 20,000 B.C. for the origin of man on earth. Estimating the rate of sinkage of those pieces of pottery, which were found in the Nile mud, at three and a half inches in a century, Bunsen pronounced accordingly. The basis of this estimate had no very safe foundation, for the French *savans* who accompanied Bonaparte's army to Egypt estimated that the rate of sinkage was more than five inches in a century, in place of three and a half. This alone would have been sufficient to throw doubt on Bunsen's conclusion, when a far stronger proof of its weakness came to light by the unexpected discovery, in the deepest boring at the foot of the statue of Ramesses II., of the *Grecian honeysuckle* stamped upon some of the supposed pre-Adamite fragments, which gave them a date of about three centuries B.C. at the

<sup>1</sup> *Egypt's Place*, vols. i., viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vols. iii., xxviii.



earliest, or some time subsequent to the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great. Hence Sir Charles Lyell, in his *Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man*, admits that 'the experiments instituted by Mr. Horner, in the hope of obtaining an accurate chronometric scale for testing the age of a given thickness of Nile sediment, are not considered by experienced Egyptologists to have been satisfactory.' This is fully seen in the fact that when the late Sir Robert Stephenson was engineering in the neighbourhood of Damietta, he discovered in the alluvial deposits of the Nile, at a greater depth than was ever reached by Mr. Horner's diggings, a brick bearing upon it the stamp of Mahomed Ali!<sup>1</sup>

Although Bunsen considered there was no valid reason for giving man a higher antiquity than 20,000 B.C., those who ignore Scripture testimony do not agree with him. Thus Mr. Jukes, a distinguished English geologist, places the age of man at 100,000 years. Professor Fükbroth affirms, in his work *Der fossile Mensch aus dem Neanderthal*, that it 'reaches back to a period of 200,000 years;' while M. Chabas, in his *Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique d'après les Sources Egyptiennes*, states, on the authority of M. Piétrement, in due arithmetical progression, that 300,000 years ago the horse was killed and eaten by man in Europe! The late President of the Anthropological Society, Dr. Hunt, not content with the comparatively modest chronology of the Brahmins, which allows the human race an antiquity of 4,300,000 years according to Sir William Jones, affirmed that man had existed on earth for the prolonged period of 9,000,000 years; while Professor Huxley, in his speech at the Norwich meeting of the British Association, contended that 'the appearance of man upon the globe must be thrown back to an era immeasurably more remote than has ever yet been assigned to it by the boldest speculators.'

In contrast to these curious speculations, we may remember, in support of the Biblical chronology which gives our race an antiquity of about 6,000 years, that there are arguments from evidence in favour of such a modest computation, e.g.

1. The actual number of the supposed population of the world at the present time would, according to the calculated rate of increase from the three sons of Noah on their exit from the Ark, be reached in a little more than 4,000 years.
2. The comparatively modern date of art, sciences, and inventions.
3. The low date of all *authentic* history, whether

<sup>1</sup> *London Quarterly Review*, No. 51, p. 240.

Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian,<sup>1</sup> Indian, or Chinese, none of which can be traced back to an earlier date than B.C. 2400. 4. The moral reasoning which forbids the supposition of the enormous period of gloom and barbarism which the theories of the vast antiquity of the existing race demand.

The question, however, which we have now to consider is, the light which the Egyptian records throw upon the antiquity of man on earth. It is true that Manetho, of whom Bunsen writes in the following strain—<sup>2</sup>

‘Manetho, give us our name !

Grateful I offer to thee whatever through thee I have learned ;

*Truth have I sought at thy hand ; truth have I found by thy aid—*’

dates the foundation of the Egyptian monarchy thirty centuries earlier than the Bible allows ; but Manetho's chronology is not confirmed either by the monuments, or the papyri, both of which are many centuries earlier than his age. Thus, while Manetho gives 1,504 years as the duration of the first six dynasties of Egyptian kings, the Turin papyrus, which belongs to the age of Ramesses the Great, and, therefore, more than 1,000 years earlier than Manetho, only allows 355 years for the same period.

Eratosthenes, the librarian of Alexandria under Ptolemy Euergetes, and the founder of historical criticism, says Bunsen, for the primitive ages of Greece, gives us a chronology far more in accordance with Scripture. He dates the reign of Menes, the proto-monarch of Egypt, at B.C. 2306, which may be computed as follows. He gives 986 years from Menes to Pharaoh Nilus, whom Herodotus (lib. ii. § 3) calls the son and successor of Ramesses the Great. Dicaearchus, a Greek of the fourth century B.C., says, ‘From the time of Pharaoh Nilus to the first Olympiad there were 436 years.’<sup>3</sup> If Dicaearchus refers to the time when the Olympic games

<sup>1</sup> In the celebrated letter which Alexander the Great wrote to his mother Olympias, with the narrative he had received from the Egyptian high priest Leo, who had extracted the same from the national archives, a term of 5,000 years is assigned to the Assyrian kingdom, while in the more authentic Greek history only 1,300 years are reckoned for the same period. So the Egyptian chronology gives 8,000 years to the duration of the Persian empire until the time of Alexander, while among the Greeks only seven centuries are allowed for the same. S. Augustine suggests as a possible explanation, that ‘the Egyptians are said to have formerly reckoned *only four months* to their year.’—*De Civitate Dei*, lib. xii. c. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Egypt's Place*, vol. iii. p. 392.

<sup>3</sup> This valuable fragment of Dicaearchus' history is given by Bunsen in his *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 712 ; and it is rather strange that he should have overlooked its force, especially when he speaks of Eratosthenes as ‘the founder of historical criticism.’

were first instituted by Iphitus, B.C. 884, this would give B.C. 1320 for the death of Ramesses, which agrees sufficiently well with Manetho, who dates that event B.C. 1322; and may be confirmed by a variety of other sources. By adding the 986 years of Eratosthenes to 1320, we obtain B.C. 2306 as the date for the commencement of the kingdom of Egypt in the person of Menes, its first monarch. As the dispersion at Babel occurred, according to the Hebrew chronology, about B.C. 2330, and the colonization of Egypt followed soon after, we see in this a happy synchronism between the Egyptian historian and the truth of the Bible.

Astronomical science appears to offer some aid in confirmation of the above. There is both monumental and historical evidence that the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh was built during the reign of Pharaoh *Chu-fu*, or *Cheops*, or *Suphis*, as he is variously named by different authorities, though whether he was the builder of it is an open question. Chufu stands in the records of Egypt as the twenty-first king on the Abydos Tablet, and the second king of Manetho's fourth dynasty. The supposed age of the Great Pyramid was calculated by Sir John Herschel, at the request of Col. Howard Vyse, about fifty years ago; and his estimate, based upon the position of the Polar Star at the time of its erection, was determined by him to fall within the years B.C. 2171-2123. His reasons for coming to this conclusion are thus stated:—

'Four thousand years ago the present Polar Star could by no possibility have been seen at any time within the twenty-four hours through the gallery in the Great Pyramid, on account of the precession of the equinoxes. At that time *a Draconis* was the Polar Star. The passage in the Pyramid may be said to have been directly pointed at *a Draconis* in the horizon of Ghizeh, and would have been within view of an observer stationed in the descending passage.'

Sir John Herschel's estimate for finding the true date of the Great Pyramid has been confirmed by Professor Piazzzi

<sup>1</sup> Howard Vyse's *Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. ii. App. p. 107. The following table will show the great variety of dates assigned by scholars to the building of the Great Pyramid:—

	dates it	B.C.
Lesueur	. . . .	4975.
Brugsch	" . . . .	3657.
Bunsen	" . . . .	3460.
Lepsius	" . . . .	3426.
Poole	" . . . .	2352.
Piazzzi Smyth	" . . . .	2170.
Palmer	" . . . .	1903.
Sir G. Cornwall Lewis	" . . . .	993.

Showing a difference of more than 4,000 years!

Smyth, the Astronomer Royal of Scotland, who sums up the question as follows :—

‘It would seem that the resulting conclusion should be in favour of a high probability, and something that *must* be admitted until more direct and positive evidence can be adduced on the opposite side—that if we could by a miracle overtake the time that is passed, and revisit the Ghizeh Hill at the date B.C. 2170, as indicated by the theory, we should certainly find some part or other of the building of the Great Pyramid then in progress ; or, in other words, the operation itself would be abundantly visible from that computed point of time, even as the consequences of the operation are to be seen now, from the similarly computed point of space.’<sup>1</sup>

In another work the same author remarks :—

‘The Egyptologists of the French and German schools still treat Sir John Herschel and a *Draconis* with disdain, while they go on asserting for the date of the Great Pyramid’s building, not 2170 B.C., but so much as 3400 B.C., 4500 B.C., or almost any other large number of years. . . . Thanks to recent researches, we may turn upon the Egyptologists, and ask them,—If the angle of elevation of the entrance passage was an entirely accidental, or, at least, a perfectly unastronomical meridian, and might have been anything else as easily as what it was made to be—how did it come to pass that of all the possible angles, between 1 degree and 60 degrees, such a particular, most unique, and all important angle as 26° 18’ was hit upon, so as to chime in precisely with, and call attention to, several other simultaneous astronomical phenomena and arguments? For in the year when a *Draconis* on the meridian, but beneath the pole, was last seen at precisely that passage elevation angle of 26° 18’, such polar phenomenon had then, and only then, the important complement for time-observation that the Pleiades were simultaneously crossing the meridian above the pole and near the equator. And, *what is even more important still for chronological purposes*, the Pleiades were then,—*in that year alone, of all years for more than 10,000, past and to come*,—in the meridian of the equinoctial point ; or this said equinoctial point, the beginning of all reckoning by right ascension in the sky, was on the meridian coincidently with the other two then also mutually agreeing stellar facts.’<sup>2</sup>

Assuming this date for the building of the Great Pyramid, B.C. 2170, to be correct, we may find its confirmation in the following way. We have already seen that the Turin papyrus gives 355 years from the time of Menes, the first colonizer

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Work at the Great Pyramid*, by C. Piazzi Smyth, F.R.S. L. and E., div. ii. sec. v. vol. iii. p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *On the Antiquity of Intellectual Man, from a Practical and Astronomical Point of View*, by C. Piazzi Smyth, F.R.S., L. and E., pp. 323-325.

and proto-monarch of Egypt, to the close of Manetho's sixth dynasty. The new tablet of Abydos, and another discovered by M. Mariette at a tomb at Sakkarah, show that in the order of succession the sixth dynasty is immediately followed by the twelfth, when we appear to arrive at something like contemporary history. In the sepulchral grottoes of *Bennee Hasan*, on the banks of the Nile, there are still to be seen some inscriptions belonging to the early kings of the twelfth dynasty. Special mention is there made of the 'Panegyry or Festival of the first year,' referring to the commencement of the *tropical cycle*, i.e. a perfectly exact cycle of the sun, moon, and vague year. 'Hence,' says Poole, after having had his calculations tested by Sir J. Airey, the Astronomer Royal, 'the Egyptian monuments give *two fixed dates*: the commencement of the first tropical cycle on the first day of the tropical and vague years, January 7, B.C. 2005, in the reign of Amenemes II.; and the commencement of the second tropical cycle, Dec. 28, B.C. 507.'<sup>1</sup>

Osburn, in his *Monumental History of Egypt* (vol. i. ch. vii.), adduces some evidence in favour of Abraham's visit to Egypt having occurred about the commencement of the twelfth dynasty; which event, according to the Hebrew computation, would be dated B.C. 2010. Josephus, who lived when the temple records of Egypt still existed, relates that Abraham taught the Egyptians 'arithmetic and the science of astronomy, for before he went to Egypt they were unacquainted with that sort of learning.'<sup>2</sup> This remarkable testimony respecting Abraham is confirmed by two heathen historians, Berosus and Eupolemus, both of whom lived between three and four centuries prior to Josephus.<sup>3</sup> And Osburn adds that 'there does not exist a single record of any Pharaoh or subject *with a date* previous to the time of Pharaoh Amenemes I., head of the twelfth dynasty, whereas tablets belonging to his reign, with dates inscribed upon them, are not uncommon.'<sup>4</sup>

Seeing, then, that the commencement of the twelfth dynasty may be approximately dated *circa* B.C. 2000, according to Egyptian chronology, and that this date agrees with that of Scripture for the period of Abraham's visit to the land of Ham, we have thus a synchronism of the histories of Israel and Egypt from the time of Babel to that of the Patriarch of the Jewish race. Counting backwards from B.C. 2000, we

<sup>1</sup> Poole's *Horæ Egyptiacæ*, part i. § 11. <sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Antiq.* i. viii. § 6.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.* § 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Monum. Hist. of Egypt*, vol i. c. vii. p. 378.

have the testimony of the Turin papyrus to show that 355 years before, *i.e.* B.C. 2355, Egypt began to be colonized by the arrival of Menes (the Mizraim of Scripture) and his companions, which agrees sufficiently near with the Biblical date for the dispersion at Babel. And this we have already seen is confirmed by the astronomical date of the building of the Great Pyramid, B.C. 2170, during the reign of Chufu, one of the kings of the fourth dynasty, and in accordance with the average estimate of the duration of the first six dynasties, extending from B.C. 2355-2000.<sup>1</sup>

Both the Abydos tablets show incontestably that the twelfth dynasty was succeeded by the eighteenth, whose first monarch (Pharaoh Amosis) is known in Egyptian history as the conqueror of the Shepherds, and in the book of Exodus as the 'new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph.' An existing tomb at Eilethya, in Upper Egypt, which is described at length in the Vicomte de Rouge's *Mémoire sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Aahmes, chef des Nautoniers*, belonging to one of the nobles of Pharaoh Amosis, who bore the rank of 'Admiral of the Nile,' contains a genealogical record of much importance. The names from the original founder of the family, who lived in the reign of the Pharaoh who immediately preceded the twelfth dynasty, are recorded, as in our English pedigrees, in regular succession from father to son through eleven descents; a descent, according to Herodotus (ii. 142), may be computed as filling a period of thirty years; and consequently eleven descents calculated from the Pharaoh who preceded the twelfth dynasty, which may be approximately dated B.C. 2036, would represent a period of about 330 years, and bring us down to B.C. 1706, the date of the conquest of the Shepherds by Pharaoh Amosis, according to the testimony of Manetho as interpreted by Brugsch for the commencement of the reign of that new king.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Manetho's system of chronology and writing history can only be explained upon the principle of the Saxon Heptarchy, which if treated in the same way would extend English history by about sixteen centuries. That more than one instance of Manetho's dynasties being contemporaneous may be easily proved from the monuments. The historical inscription of King *Pianchi-Meriamoun*, translated by De Rouge in the *Revue Archéologique* of 1863, p. 94 *et seq.*, shows that at one time there were certainly five contemporary kings reigning in Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire d'Égypte*, par Henri Brugsch. 'Canon chron. des Rois de Menes jusqu'à Nectabenos II. Commencement of the reign of Pharaoh Amosis B.C. 1706.' Canon Cook says, 'Brugsch, following Lepsius, fixes the succession of Aahmes I. (Amosis) at B.C. 1706. This would be in very near accordance with Hebrew history, if the dates drawn from notices in the Book of Judges were accepted in preference to that



As this is one of the very few fixed dates in which there is a general consensus of many systems of chronology, we propose, before entering upon the consideration of the Egyptian monuments in relation to the Scripture record, to show that the only possible way of reconciling the histories of Israel and Egypt is to prove the synchronism between the death of Joseph, as related in the Book of Exodus, and the overthrow of the Shepherds by the head of the eighteenth dynasty, as recorded by the threefold testimony of the monuments, the papyri, and the Egyptian historians—as important an event in the history of that country as the Norman conquest in that of England, and from which period Egyptian chronology may be considered as well settled as Roman history, according to Niebuhr, from the time of the irruption of the Gauls.

Although it is commonly said that sacred and secular chronology do not come into contact until the time of the Babylonish captivity, in the 6th century B.C., when one may be said to end and the other to have its more certain beginning, almost all chronologers are agreed that an event as early as the building of Solomon's Temple is a fair starting-point on which the various computations may be said to rest. Biblical chronology places the date of that event B.C. 1014, which is thus confirmed by secular chronology. Carthage was destroyed by Scipio in the fourth and last year of the third Punic war, B.C. 146. Solinus and Cato alike report that Carthage had then existed 737 years, which would fix the date of its building B.C. 883. Menander the Ephesian (who, according to Josephus, 'wrote the acts done both by the Greeks and the Barbarians under every one of the Tyrian kings,'<sup>1</sup> in whose annals the building of Solomon's Temple is specially mentioned as having occurred during the reign of Hiram, king of Tyre, in accordance with the 5th chapter of the 1st Book of Kings) gives 155 years from the building of Carthage to the commencement of Hiram's reign, which would bring that event to B.C. 1038. Hiram reigned according to Menander thirty-four years; his reign therefore terminated B.C. 1005. Hiram is shown in Kings to have been contemporary with both David and Solomon for several years; and according to this computation it must have been in the

given in Kings vi.—*Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i. p. 454. Lepsius, however, in his *Königsbuch*, gives B.C. 1684, and not 1706, for the commencement of Amosis' reign.—See *Quellentafeln der Manethonischen Dynastien*, p. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph. *Contr. Apion.*, lib. i. §§ 17, 18.

twenty-sixth year of his reign, which synchronized with the fourth of Solomon's, that the Temple of Jerusalem was begun to be built. Bunsen, who has investigated this matter very critically, and based upon a different mode of computing the event, concludes that 'the year B.C. 1014 was the year of the building of the Temple on coherent critical grounds, and differs very little from the ordinary computation.'<sup>1</sup>

The authorized version of 1 Kings vi. 1 reads thus: '*In the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of Egypt*, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, he began to build the house of the Lord.' Counting 480 years from B.C. 1014, we arrive at 1494 as the date of the Exode apparently on Scripture authority. But we have strong evidence that the words italicized are an interpolation as late as the 4th century of the Christian era. For it does not agree with the summation of years given in the Old Testament, especially a passage in Judges xi. 26, which shows that in the time of Jephthah the children of Israel had then been occupying the Land of Promise upwards of '300 years,' which would leave only fifty-six years for the interval between Jephthah and Saul, in place of between one and two centuries, as stated in the Book of Judges. Nor does it agree with the New Testament, as S. Paul asserts that the rule of the Judges alone, until Samuel, lasted 'about the space of 450 years' (Acts xiii. 20). None of the Jewish writers, such as Demetrius or Josephus, nor of the Christian Fathers, such as Theophilus of Antioch or Clement of Alexandria, could have known of this clause, for their chronology of that period is essentially different. Again Origen, probably the best authority for the text of Scripture in his own age, in his *Commentary on S. John*, quotes 1 Kings, vi. 1, without the disputed clause, as follows:—'They prepared timber and stones to build the house; and in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel,' &c., omitting all mention of the clause 'in the 480th year,' &c., which proves that the words were not in Origen's copy of the LXX., or of the Hebrew; for had they been in either, Origen would surely have inserted them, as they are the most important words in the text.

It is evident that this clause was unknown to both Jews and Christians, from the fact that all authorities gave a longer period between the Exode and the building of the Temple than the present Hebrew text allows. Thus Demetrius, of the 3rd century B.C., and Josephus, of the 1st

<sup>1</sup> *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, book iv. part v. § 1, A. iv.

century A.D., computed the interval at 592 years; Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, in the 2nd century, at 580 years; and Clement, Bishop of Alexandria, at 573 years; showing sufficient agreement without any servile copying from each other, when there was no regular era for the period in existence to afford the approximate estimate of the opinion of chronologers as to what was the real interval between the Exode and the building of the Temple. Now we have a very remarkable secular testimony on this very point. Theophilus, besides giving his own computation of this interval, which is variously reckoned at 580 and 540 years, says:—'There is an account among the Tyrian archives about the building of the Temple in Judea, which King Solomon built 566 years after the Jews went out of Egypt.'<sup>1</sup> On this authority, so unexceptionable in itself, we appear to be warranted in fixing the date of the Exode at  $566 + 1014 = \text{B.C. } 1580$ .

Having thus ascertained an approximate date for the Exode, we count back the 430 years mentioned in Exodus xii. 40, as the duration of the sojourn of Israel from the time of the call of Abraham, which event, according to this computation, may be dated  $1580 + 430 = \text{B.C. } 2010$ ; which accords with the time of Abraham's visit to Egypt, and the first appearance of dates on any of the Egyptian monuments, which art the Pharaohs learnt, as we have already seen, on that memorable occasion.

A strange objection to the truth of the Pentateuch has been adduced by a famous German neologian, writing about half a century ago, before the value of the Egyptian monuments had been discovered. Von Bohlen, in his *Die Genesis historisch-critisch erläutert*, tells his readers that the fact of the Pentateuch having represented Abraham as receiving 'sheep and asses' from Pharaoh, was sufficient to prove its *unhistorical* character, as, he says, 'sheep were unknown to the Egyptians at that period, and asses were especially odious to them on account of their colour.' And a further proof that Moses could never have been in Egypt is seen in the fact that 'no allusion is made to horses (as being given to Abraham), which were native to Egypt, as the relator (Moses) is aware, from Genesis xli. 43 and xlvii. 17, where chariots and horses are named. To this double objection the monuments afford a very satisfactory reply.

Without laying any stress upon Manetho's testimony, that 'the goat was worshipped in Egypt as early as the time of the second dynasty,' *i.e.* about two-and-a-half centuries prior to the

<sup>1</sup> Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* lib. iii. §§ 22, 24.

time of Abraham's visit ; or on the fact that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch severally mention the existence of *sheep* in that country, we have conclusive evidence in contradiction of Von Bohlen's venturesome assertion. The tomb of Prince Cephrenes, near the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, of the reign of Pharaoh *Saphis* or *Chufu*, and therefore nearly two centuries prior to the time of Abraham, has various pictorial representations, according to custom, of the property of the wealthy owner. The head shepherd is represented as giving an account of the flocks committed to his charge. First come oxen, over which is written the number 834 ; cows, 220 ; goats, 2,234, asses, 760 ; and *sheep* 974.<sup>1</sup>

So as regards Von Bohlen's other objection respecting the omission of 'horses' in the list of animals presented by Pharaoh to Abraham, and their appearance in the time of Joseph. It is assumed that Moses has here shown his ignorance of the domestic habits of the Egyptians ; but, on the contrary, it is well known that there is no monumental representation of the horse in Egypt before the time of Thothmes I., who was certainly reigning within a few years after the conquest of the Shepherds.<sup>2</sup> We shall presently adduce some evidence in proof of Joseph having been the Prime Minister of a Shepherd King, so that we may point to the monuments as proving that the horse was unknown to the Egyptians of the time of Abraham, and that it must have been introduced into the country probably by the Shepherds themselves, and before the reign of that Pharaoh who 'made Joseph to ride in the second chariot which he had.'

We have before seen the amount of evidence in favour of fixing the date of the Exode at B.C. 1580, and the overthrow of the Shepherds at B.C. 1706, leaving an interval of 126 years between these two events. In confirmation of this chronology, which affords a remarkable synchronism between the histories of Israel and Egypt, we see that at the time of the death of the last of Joseph's brethren there were 126 years unexpired of the 430 years' sojourn from Abraham to the Exode. In chapter i. of Exodus it is recorded that 'Joseph died and all his brethren and all that generation ;' and it is

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, No. 75, 'Ghizeh ;' Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 130, Second Series ; Osburn's *Monumental History*, vol. i. p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> Lenormant goes too far when he writes—'C'est aussi de la guerre de Thoutmes I<sup>er</sup> en Mésopotamie que les Egyptiens rapportèrent pour la première fois le cheval, qui apparaît seulement alors dans leurs sculptures et qui semble leur avoir été jusqu'alors inconnu.'—*Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i. p. 238.

added immediately after—'Now there arose up a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph.' In chapter vi. 16, mention is made of the death of Levi, the brother of Joseph, and the last surviving member of that generation, as we may fairly presume, at the age of 137, and the year before the rise of the new king. The following table of the events recorded in Scripture as having happened during the 430 years' sojourn, fixes the date of Levi's death at B.C. 1707; and, as we have already pointed out, the chronology of Manetho dates the overthrow of the Shepherds by Pharaoh Amosis, and the rise of the celebrated eighteenth dynasty, in the following year, B.C. 1706:—

	Year of Call.	B.C.	
Abraham's visit to Egypt when 75 . . . . .	1	2010	Genesis xii. 1, 4, 10
Isaac born when Abraham was 100 . . . . .	25	1985	" xvii. 1, 21
Isaac married Rebecca when 40 . . . . .	65	1945	" xxv. 20
Jacob born when Isaac was 60 . . . . .	85	1925	" xxv. 26
Abraham's death at 175 . . . . .	100	1910	" xxv. 27 [9
Joseph born when Jacob was 91 . . . . .	176	1834	" xlv. 6; xlvii.
Joseph sold into Egypt at 17 . . . . .	193	1817	" xxxvii. 2
Isaac's death when Joseph was 29 . . . . .	205	1805	" xxxv. 28
Joseph Viceroy of Egypt when 30 . . . . .	206	1804	" xlv. 46 [54
End of the seven years of plenty . . . . .	213	1797	" xlv. 20, 47,
Jacob in Egypt in the second year of the famine . . . . .	215	1795	{ " xlv. 6
Jacob presented to Pharaoh when 130 . . . . .			
Jacob's death when 147 . . . . .	232	1778	" xlvii. 9
Joseph's death when 110 . . . . .	286	1724	" xlvii. 28
Death of Levi, the last of the genera- tion, when 137 . . . . .	303	1707	" l. 26
Rise of the king who knew not Joseph . . . . .	304	1706	Exodus i. 6; vi. 16
Moses born . . . . .	350	1660	" i. 8
Moses flies to Midian when 40 . . . . .	390	1620	" ii. 1, 2
The Exodus when Moses was 80 . . . . .	430	1580	Acts vii. 23
			Exodus vii. 7

As much controversy has arisen respecting the meaning of the 430 years' sojourn, it may be well to examine the text which treats on this important point. The authorized version reads Exodus xii. 40 thus:—'Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, *who dwelt in Egypt*, was 430 years.' By which it will be seen that the present reading does not necessarily imply that the Israelites were either in Egypt or in servitude during the whole of that period; for it declares

that though their *sojourning* lasted 430 years, it was only a portion of that time that they dwelt in Egypt. Such appears to be the view expressed in Hebrews xi. 9:—‘By faith Abraham *sojourned* in the Land of Promise as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise.’ This is confirmed by the reading both of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX., all of which MSS., as Kennicott observes,<sup>1</sup> are uniform on this matter, and read the text as follows:—‘Now the *sojourning* of the children of Israel, and of their fathers, when they *sojourned* in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt, was 430 years.’ And so S. Paul in Galatians iii. 16, 17, teaches that ‘the promises to Abraham and his seed were confirmed by the law (given at Sinai), which was 430 years *after*’ they had been first made.

That the Jews of all ages so understood the text may be seen by this. Demetrius,<sup>2</sup> who flourished in the 3rd century B.C., reckons 215 years from the call of Abraham to the going down into Egypt; 135 years from this last event to the birth of Moses, and 80 years from that to the Exode, which adds up  $215 + 135 + 80 = 430$ . Josephus, in the first century A.D., expressly says that ‘the children of Israel left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the 15th day of the month, 430 years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but only 215 years after Jacob removed into Egypt.’<sup>3</sup> Both the Talmuds speak of the sojourning of the Israelites as including that ‘*in Egypt and in all lands*’ besides.<sup>4</sup> Aben Ezra interprets the words, as does Joseph Ben Gorion, a Rabbinical writer of the 10th century, in the following way:—‘The sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt, *and in other lands*, was 430 years. Notwithstanding they abode in Egypt only 210 years, according to what their father Jacob told them, to “descend” or *go down* to Egypt, which in Hebrew signifies 210. Furthermore, the computation of 430 years is from the year that Isaac was born, which was the holy seed unto Abraham.’<sup>5</sup>

The testimony of Christian writers is to the same effect. Eusebius<sup>6</sup> distinctly says that it is ‘by the unanimous consent of all interpreters’ that the text should be so understood.

<sup>1</sup> Kennicott, *Dissert.* ii. pp. 164, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Demet. *apud. Euseb. Præp. Evang.* ix. § 21.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. xv. § 2.

<sup>4</sup> *T. Hierosol. Megillah*, fol. 71, 4. *T. Babylon Megillah*, fol. 9, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Historie of the latter Tymes of the Jewes' Common Weal*, by Joseph Ben Gorion. Translated by Peter Morwing, pp. 2, 3. Oxford, A.D. 1567.

<sup>6</sup> Euseb. *Chron. Canon.* liber prior, § 19.



Augustine, in his 47th *Question* on Exodus, as well as in his *City of God*,<sup>1</sup> taught that the 430 years included the sojourn in Canaan as well as in Egypt. And Sulpicius Severus says, 'from the entrance of Abraham into Canaan until the Exode there were 430 years.'<sup>2</sup> These interpreters of the text of the Old Testament doubtless understood an argument, which some in the present day have strangely overlooked, that if the 430 years are to be counted only from the time of Jacob's descent into Egypt until the Exode, *the mother of Moses would have borne him 262 years after her father's death*, according to the Biblical computation, which all admit is a physical impossibility; on which Clinton has justly observed: 'Some writers have very unreasonably doubted this portion of the Hebrew chronology, as if it were uncertain how this period of 430 years was to be understood. Those who cast a doubt upon this point refuse to Moses, an inspired writer—in the account of his mother and father, and grandfather—that authority which would be given to the testimony of a profane author on the same occasion.'<sup>3</sup>

We have dwelt at some length on this point, because it must be regarded as the crucial test between the defenders and the impugnors of the text of Scripture, as to the time of the Exode and the 'new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph.' Speaking generally, the former find the persecutor of the Israelites in Amosis, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, who conquered the Shepherds B.C. 1706; and the latter in Ramesses the Great, one of the kings of the nineteenth dynasty, whose reign is fixed according to the latest exegesis of German criticism at B.C. 1134.<sup>4</sup> As this date would result in bringing the 126 years (wanted, as we have already seen, to complete the whole of the 430 years between the 'new king' and the Exode) within the period of Solomon's reign, and would altogether exclude from the domain of history the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, the period of the Judges of Israel and the reigns of Saul and David, we

<sup>1</sup> August. *De Civitat. Dei*, lib. xvi. § 24.

<sup>2</sup> Sulpic. Sev. *Hist. Eccles.* I. xxvi. § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. p. 299, Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 122. Canon Cook says: 'Egyptian scholars have hitherto been divided between two opinions, some recognizing in Aahmes, or Amosis, the first sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty, the first persecutor of the Israelites, and in one of his descendants the Pharaoh of the Exodus; others regarding the third sovereign of the nineteenth dynasty, i.e. Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks, and his son Marneptah, or his grandson Seti, as the contemporaries of Moses.'—*Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i. p. 452.

may at once dismiss this specimen of German criticism from all further consideration. And in order to show what little confidence we can have in this school of critics, and how great are the differences amongst themselves on the subject of chronology, we find, concerning the duration of the *sojourning* of Israel, these various opinions propounded by three eminent German authorities. Lepsius declares that 'only ninety years intervened from the entrance of Jacob to the Exodus of Moses.' Brugsch contends that the same period embraces the whole of the 430 years. While Bunsen writes in one place that 'the duration of the sojourn in Egypt was 1434 years,' and in another reduces the same period to 862 years!<sup>1</sup> Until German Egyptologists present the world with results somewhat more harmonious, we need not feel much disquieted at Bunsen's remark when he ridicules what he says 'einige weise Männer und Knaben Englands schlaue andeuten.'

Another instance of great differences among German Egyptologists, who ignore Scripture authority *in toto*, may be seen in the duration of the Shepherd dynasty, which reigned in Egypt, as far as we can gather from the monuments, for about one century. Yet some have no hesitation in prolonging their reign to a far greater extent. Bunsen computes it at 926 years; Lepsius reduces the period to 500 years,<sup>2</sup> while De Rougé elongates it to 2017 years; showing a difference of more than fifteen centuries between those who claim to be teachers of the true history of Egypt and Israel! Such speculations can only be compared to the case of a foreigner, like M. Guizot, who has written the history of the English Commonwealth, if he were to speculate on its duration as having been either five, or ten, or twenty centuries! Had the Shepherds reigned in Egypt as long as De Rougé supposes,

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius' *Letters from Egypt*, p. 475. *Histoire d'Égypte*, par Henri Brugsch, p. 80. Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, iii. 357, and v. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Lepsius' computation of 500 years for the duration of the Shepherd dynasty is grounded upon Manetho's estimate respecting the sixteenth dynasty, of which he writes:—'There were 32 Hellenic Shepherd kings who reigned 518 years.' As far as the monuments reveal, the Shepherd dynasty did not reign above one century; but the possible solution of Manetho's '518 years' may be this. Herodotus (ii. § 124 *et seq.*) says that at the time of the building of the Great Pyramid, one 'Philiton, a shepherd, pastured his flocks near the place.' Manetho states that the last of the Shepherds were finally expelled from Egypt by Pharaoh Thothmes III., grandson of the conqueror Amosis. The date of the Great Pyramid is astronomically fixed at B.C. 2170, and counting forward 518 years, we are brought to B.C. 1652, when Thothmes III. was ruling in Egypt. Manetho, writing nineteen centuries after the first of these events, has confused them together, which may account for his impossible duration of the sixteenth dynasty as lasting for 518 years.

they would have ceased to have been regarded as foreign conquerors, just as our Plantagenet kings were within two centuries after the Norman Conquest. The impossibility of his theory may be estimated by supposing the descendants of Julius Cæsar to have been ruling in England since the first Roman invasion, and the present generation of Englishmen, headed by a descendant of the ancient British kings, rising in rebellion against them, and expelling them from the country in consequence of their being *foreigners*!

Turn we now to the consideration of those events recorded in Scripture which appear to be confirmed more or less distinctly either by the hieroglyphic monuments or the hieratic papyri. It is frequently said that neither of these witnesses afford any confirmation to the Noachian Flood. We think this is a mistake, for though there is no positive evidence yet discovered showing that the Egyptians knew of the judgment which overtook the antediluvian world, it is more than probable they had some traditions concerning it. In that remarkable work known as the *Egyptian Ritual, or Book of the Dead*, some portions of which are certainly prior to the time of Abraham,<sup>1</sup> which has been so skilfully translated by Dr. Birch, there is frequent mention of the name of Noah, variously written as *Nh*, *Nuh*, and *Noa*, who was worshipped in Egypt as *the god of water*, and who appears to be identified with the deified hero who was entitled 'the father of the gods,' and 'the giver of mystic life to all beneath him.' According

<sup>1</sup> 'The earliest appearance,' says Dr. Birch, 'of Rituals is in the eleventh dynasty (*i.e.* before 2000 B.C.). It is then that extracts of these sacred books are found covering the inner sides of the rectangular chests which held the mummies of the dead.'—*Egypt's Place*, v. 127. This is a remarkable fact, that the book of the dead contains a far sounder faith respecting the Creator of all things, than that of the Grecian philosophers, like Democritus and Epicurus, in ancient times, and the materialists, like Herbert Spencer and Professor Tyndall, in our own days, who have adopted the hypothesis of the world having been created by a fortuitous concourse of atoms without an Omnipotent Ruler; for in chap. xvii., on the Egyptian faith, it is written, 'I AM THE GREAT GOD, CREATING HIMSELF'—golden words which might be profitably considered by some of our present professors, though mixed with ideas which are only fit for the disciples of Mr. Darwin, as it is said in chap. liv., 'I am the egg of the great cackler; I have watched this great egg which Seb has prepared for the earth.' And so Jamblicus, in his account of the creed held by the Egyptians, as found in the ancient hermetic books, quotes as follows:—'Before all existing things, and before all principles, *there is one God*, prior to the first God and King, immovable in the solitude of his unity. He is the self-begotten father of Himself, who is truly good—the fountain of all things, and the root of all primary intelligible existing forms. Out of this one mould the self-ruling God made Himself shine forth; wherefore He is the first principle and God of gods.'—*Jambl.* sect. viii. c. 2, § 3.

to Plutarch, the Egyptian tradition represents Noah under the last-named title, when Typhon, a personification of the ocean, enticed him into the Ark, which, being closed, was forced out to sea through the Tanaitic mouth; which things 'were done,' says Plutarch, 'upon the seventeenth day of the month Atayr, when the sun was in Scorpio, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Osiris.' So it is recorded of THE FLOOD, that it commenced 'in the six-hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, and in the seventeenth day of the month, the same day.'—*Genesis* vii. 11. The fact that two such different authorities as Moses and Plutarch mention a great Flood beginning on the seventeenth day of the month, seems to show that they are speaking of the same event.

In the Egyptian Pantheon the names of the various deities are written so differently, though certainly not more so than amongst ourselves,<sup>2</sup> that it is almost impossible to decide whether we are to understand the same individual or a number of deified men. Thus he who is described in the *Book of the Dead* as *Nh*, *Nuh*, or *Noa*, appears on the monuments as *Num*, *Nu*, *Khnun*, and is the original immortal god, according to Plutarch, who was known to the inhabitants of the Thebaid under the name of *Kneph*, or *Chnubis*.<sup>3</sup> On a monument discovered in the mystic chamber of the Temple of Philæ, belonging to the Ptolemaic epoch, he is represented as turning a potter's wheel, moulding the mortal part of Osiris out of a lump of clay, with the following inscription written over his head—'Khnun, who forms on his wheel the divine limbs of Osiris, who is enthroned in the great hall of life.' A remarkable passage in Isaiah (lxiv. 8), 'Now, O Lord, Thou art our father; we are the clay, and Thou our potter; and we are all the work of Thy hand,' may possibly have given the Egyptians of Ptolemaic times, upwards of four centuries after Isaiah's age, and when the LXX. version was known to the learned, the idea of the potter and the clay.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 13. Plato also in the *Timæus*, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> The writer has discovered his own name in ancient documents spelt in twenty-one different ways; sometimes with six letters, at other times with twelve. In the history of the battle of Agincourt by Sir Harris Nicolas the same name is spelt no less than ten different ways.

<sup>3</sup> *De Isid. et Osir.* § 21. The name is variously interpreted by Champollion as 'the breath of those who are in the firmament;' by Birch as 'water,' which is the more probable, as one of the titles of *Nuh*, or *Kneph*, under which he was worshipped in Elephantina, was that of the Lord of the 'libations' or the 'inundations.'

<sup>4</sup> Gliddon, in his *Ancient Egypt*, p. 29, endeavours to connect the potter's clay mentioned by Isaiah with *Adam*—'We are the clay, in Hebrew אֶרֶץ, red earth,' &c. But this is a mistake, as the Hebrew word used

Curious enough, the same idea seems to have been entertained by the Buddhists. Thus in the account of the *Swābhāvika* doctrine it is said :—

‘All things are governed or perfected by Swabháva. . . . All things come from Swabháva. At the general dissolution of all things the four elements shall be absorbed thus:—Earth in water, water in fire, fire in air, and air in Buddha Swabháva; and when existence is again evolved, each shall in the inverse order progress from the other. Such is the *Swābhāvika* Sausár (*universe*), which constantly revolves between *pravritti* and *nirvritti* (the poles in the Buddhist system of Cosmogony) like a potter’s wheel.’<sup>1</sup>

Another Egyptian monument from the temple of Osiris at Philæ, and of the same age, appears to bear testimony to the Mosaic record of the Temptation and Fall of our first parents.

This tablet, which was published in the collection of plates of the Egyptian Society, and edited by the late Dr. Young, shows a representation of a man and woman standing beside a pomegranate-tree, from which one appears to have plucked some fruit and to have given it to the other, while a basilisk, or crowned serpent, is standing erect beside the woman, as though the sentence ‘upon thy belly shalt thou go’ had not yet been passed; telling its own tale, and evidently showing that in this picture we have the Egyptian idea of the Temptation of Adam and Eve.<sup>2</sup>

That the Egyptians had some conceptions of the Fall long prior to the Ptolemaic age may be gathered from this. On a tablet found in one of the tombs of the kings at Thebes, and therefore about ten or twelve centuries earlier than the Ptolemies, there is represented a scene which is thus described by a British officer who had seen it *in situ*: ‘Eve stands in parley with the serpent; and next to this a god, with a sharp arrow, pierces the serpent’s head. It is evident that primeval tradition has handed down the true worship to the precincts of Isis, of which these last drawings are imperfect imitations; that it was corrupted and lost, when, finding out many by the Prophet *חומר*, which Gesenius renders (1) ‘foaming of waves,’ (2) ‘clay of the potter.’

<sup>1</sup> See Preface to his *Sketch of Buddhism*, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., M.R.A.S. &c., Resident in Nepál.

<sup>2</sup> The Assyrian tradition of the Fall may be gathered from a Babylonian cylinder, a copy of which is given in Lajard’s *Culte de Mithra*, plate vii. fig. 4, representing a man and woman seated on each side of a seven-branched tree, laden with fruit. Each figure has its hand stretched forth, as if about to pluck the fruit. Behind the woman is a serpent standing erect on the tip of its tail. Behind the serpent the outline of half a human figure, with a single horn on its forehead, as if to represent SATAN.

inventions, they first personified and then deified the attributes of the Deity.<sup>1</sup> In Denon's great work on Egypt, the plates seem to show that the ancient Egyptians had some conception of a different condition of the serpent before the fall. *E.g.* in plate LII. we find various representations from different temples of the serpent as follows:—1. A snake with two human heads and a branch growing from its back. 2. A snake with body perpendicular and tail horizontal, having a human head surrounded by stars and supported by two human legs. 3. A figure with a snake's head and a human body, a pair of animal paws and a snake's tail, standing upright. In plate LXII. several snakes are represented in various forms, chiefly walking upright. One walking erect has its tail upheld by three human figures, while others are worshipping the snake itself.

The two most important epochs in the histories of Israel and Egypt, as far as Scripture is concerned, are those belonging to the times of Joseph and Moses; and we now propose to consider what light the monuments and the papyri afford on the subject. The differences among Egyptologists in regard to chronology, which we have already pointed out, exists in the same degree respecting the reigning Pharaohs of the times of Joseph and Moses. If their names had been recorded in Scripture there would have been no difficulty in their identification, but Moses confines himself to the generic name of 'Pharaohs,'<sup>2</sup> which, like 'Cæsar' of later times, was sufficiently

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Fraser, R.A., MS. Journal, quoted in Forster's *Monuments of Egypt*, p. 181. It is not quite certain that it represents the fall and the bruising of the serpent's head, as Capt. Fraser supposes. Wilkinson, who gives a copy of what is evidently the same tablet in plate p. 42, supposes that it rather points to the Greek legend of 'the wars between the Giants, or Titans, and the Gods;' as the serpent is named 'Απόβ, which in Egyptian signifies a *giant*. And 'the destruction of the serpent by (the god) Horus, who, standing in a boat, pierces his head with a spear as he rises above the water, frequently occurs in the sculptures.'—*Manners and Customs*, &c. i. pp. 435-6, Second Series.

<sup>2</sup> The name 'Pharaoh,' which is found for the first time on the nineteenth king's cartouche of the Abydos tablet, has the undoubted meaning of 'The Sun,' Ra being the well-known designation of the sun from sunrise to sunset. M. Chabas explains the word in his *Le Papyrus Magique d'Harris* (p. 173, n. 2) thus:—'*Pera*, le Soleil, Memph. פֶּרַה, Heb. פֶּרַה, désignation ordinaire des rois d'Égypte.' Brugsch and others have adopted another signification, considering it means 'the great double house,' but we do not think the arguments are as weighty for the latter as for the former. Canon Cook considers that the additional title of Son of Pharaoh, or Ra, borne for the first time by Chephren, the twenty-third king on the Abydos tablet, is an argument against the former meaning, as he says, 'the king was not likely to be called both the Son of Ra (Sun) and the Ra.' But in the Christian religion our blessed Master is designated both 'The Son of God' and 'Very God,' or 'The God' as well.



understood for the purpose of history; and it was not until the times of David and Solomon that we find the individual name of a king or queen of Egypt recorded in the Bible. There is a noteworthy circumstance connected with Joseph's first interview with the great sovereign who subsequently raised him from a prison to the viceroyalty of his kingdom. No sooner had the Jewish captive interpreted the dream of the king of Egypt than 'the thing appeared good in Pharaoh's eyes, and he said unto his servants, Can we find such an one as this is, a man in whom *the spirit of God* is? And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this, see, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.'<sup>1</sup>

In order to understand the remarkable fact of a heathen king recognizing at once the God of Israel, we must consider first who this Pharaoh really was. The tradition of the Greeks has handed down his name as *Apophis*, the most celebrated of the Shepherd kings who reigned in Egypt. George Syncellus, a Byzantine historian of the eighth century, says:— 'All are agreed that Joseph governed Egypt under Apophis, and commenced in the seventeenth year of his reign.'<sup>2</sup>

Assuming that this notice of Joseph's patron is historically true, we have ample proof that Apophis worshipped specially the God *Sutech*, who was then unknown to the Egyptians; and that this Sutech was regarded as the local deity of the Syrians, from whose country the Hycsos, or Shepherds, and Joseph had alike come, as it is written of Jacob: 'A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down to Egypt and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous.'<sup>3</sup> The Sallier papyrus in the British Museum, written about four centuries after the time of Joseph, throws considerable light on this subject, as it shows the Hycsos king supreme over all the land of Egypt, and acknowledging *Sutech*, the god of the Syrians, as the sole deity whom he worshipped. This important passage reads as follows:—

'It came to pass when the land was held by the Hycsos invaders, Raskenen was ruling in the south, and Pharaoh Apophis was in his palace at Avaris. The whole land paid homage to him with their manufactures and all the precious things of the country. Pharaoh Apophis had set up Sutech for his Lord; *he worshipped no other god in the whole land.*'

The noticeable fact of this Hycsos king having been devoted to the worship of Sutech has been confirmed by the

<sup>1</sup> Genesis xli. 37-41.<sup>2</sup> Syncel. p. 104, B.<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxvi. 5.

discovery of a colossal statue at Avaris, bearing this inscription—

‘PHARAOH APOPHIS WORSHIPPER OF THE GOD SUTEC.’

Hence Brugsch observes that ‘the mention of this god in combination with the Shepherd king proves most clearly what is stated in the papyrus concerning Apophis having been specially devoted to the worship of this god, to the exclusion of all the other deities of the whole country.’<sup>1</sup>

An objection has been made to the view of Joseph's patron being a Pharaoh of the Shepherd dynasty, on account of its being stated in Genesis that ‘every shepherd (was considered) an abomination unto the Egyptians;’ to which there is this very natural reply, that a native Pharaoh would not have promoted a captive of the Shepherd race to which Joseph belonged. But it is a question whether our English version of Genesis xlv. 34 conveys the exact sense of the original; as it is evident from the context that Joseph, before introducing his brethren to Pharaoh, prompted them to avow that they were ‘*shepherds*’ from our youth even unto now, both we and our father,’ in order that Pharaoh might give them ‘the best of the land to dwell in.’ Now this can only be consistently explained upon the grounds that at the time a king of the Shepherd dynasty was reigning in Egypt. The progress of hieroglyphic discovery has not confirmed the opinion of the ‘*Shepherds*’ having been so odious to the native Egyptians as our translation supposes. Moreover, if we take the *unpointed* Hebrew as a guide to determine the text, the word רעה צאן,<sup>2</sup> rendered *shepherd*, literally means ‘goats’ or sheep ‘delighted in,’ *i.e.* consecrated. And though the word תועבת undoubtedly means ‘abomination,’ it is equally certain that of the ninety times in which it occurs in the Old Testament, it far more frequently refers to the *idols* themselves, which things were an ‘*abomination*’ to Jehovah,’ as in Prov. iii. 32, though objects of worship to the Zidonians and the children of Ammon, as in 2 Kings xxiii. 13. Hence the passage might be rendered, ‘Every consecrated goat is an idol or object of worship with the Egyptians.’ That such was the case is well known from the testimony of Manetho, who says, that as early as the second dynasty, *i.e.* before Abraham visited Egypt, ‘the bulls Apis in Memphis, and Mnevis in Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat were appointed

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire d’Egypte*, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis xlv. 34: ‘Every shepherd.’ The word translated ‘*Shepherds*’ in v. 32 is slightly different, רעי צאן, and might be rendered literally as ‘*feeders of sheep*.’

to be gods.<sup>1</sup> And Herodotus, two centuries before Manetho, wrote: 'The Mendesian Egyptians hold all goats in veneration, but the male more than the female, giving the goat-herds of the males especial honour. One is venerated more highly than all the rest, and when he dies there is great mourning throughout all the Mendesian canton. In Egyptian the goat and Pan are both called Mendes'—(ii. 46).

The progress of hieroglyphic discovery has further shown that so far from the Shepherd dynasty being such an 'abomination' in the eyes of the Egyptians of the time of Moses as our translation of Genesis xlv. seems to imply, and as the fragments of Manetho's history, which have come down to us, appear to teach, M. Mariette, a very high authority in such matters, points out, in a series of remarkable papers which have been published in the *Revue Archéologique*, that 'the Shepherds have been too severely judged'—'the temple of Sutech built by Apophis was ornamented and enriched with images of those Pharaohs of whom the Shepherds were accused of destroying all but the remembrance'—'the Shepherds obtained possession of Egypt by violence; but the civilization which they adopted after their conquest was Egyptian rather than Asiatic, and the discoveries at Avaris (the Scripture *Zaan*) prove that they did not banish from their temples the gods of the Egyptian pantheon'—'the great sphinx of Manepthah at the Louvre, the statue of Ra-smenkhka, and the statue of Tell-Mokdam plead strongly on behalf of the Hycsos, proving that they did not commit devastations, but even protected the inscriptions on the statues which they are accused of having destroyed.'<sup>2</sup>

The connection between Sutech, the sole deity recognized by Pharaoh Apophis, and the God of the Hebrews may be seen in this. The hieroglyph Sutech appears on all the monuments as a nondescript sort of an animal, but chiefly resembling that of an *ass* in its head and tail. An ass was to the Egyptians the type of their Northern enemies in Syria, and so Sutech was represented with the head of an ass, the Egyptian name of which was *Typhon*, or *Tao*, and under the form of IAO the Greeks designated the 'God of the Hebrews.' Hence Diodorus relates that when Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 170, entered the Temple on Mount Zion, 'he found the figure of a man carved in stone sitting on an ass, whom he took for Moses who built Jerusalem.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. *Chron. Can.* lib. prior, cap. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Mariette Bey in *Revue Archéologique*, ii. 104; iii. 340.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus, lib. xxxiv. *Frag.*

Regarding this extraordinary statement of the Greek historian in the light of a gibe, it is nevertheless remarkable to find that the early Christians, three centuries later, were mocked in a similar way. Amid the ruins of Hadrian's palace at Rome, who reigned A.D. 117-138, there has recently been discovered a representation of a human figure *crucified with an ass's head*, with the following inscription underneath—

‘*Alexamenos adores his God.*’<sup>1</sup>

Tertullian, writing at the close of the 2nd century, says:—

‘A new report of our God hath been lately spread in this city (Rome), since a wretch issued a picture with some such title as this,—

“*The God of the Christians conceived of an Ass.*”<sup>2</sup>

We have ample proof that very shortly after the overthrow of the Shepherds, *Sutech* came to be regarded by the Egyptians under a very different aspect; Mariette goes so far as to say that he will ‘not be at all surprised if fresh discoveries show that Amosis, the conqueror of the Hycsos, in his turn sacrificed to the God *Sutech*.’ At all events, it is certain that Amosis’ grandson, Thothmes III., the contemporary of Moses, recognized this deity, for in a fine tablet from the great Temple of Karnac, *Sutech* is represented as instructing that Pharaoh in the use of the bow.<sup>3</sup> And two centuries later the famous Temple of Abou-Simbel was dedicated by Ramesses the Great to the four principal deities in the Egyptian Pantheon at that period of history, *viz.* Ammon, Phthah, Ra, and *Sutech*.

A discovery by M. Mariette of a tablet in the ruins of the great Temple at Tanis (Zoan) seems to throw further light on this subject. It was placed there by the same celebrated Pharaoh, commonly known to us as Ramesses the Great, and bears the date of ‘the 490th year of the era of Noubti,’ the first known instance of any era in use amongst the ancient

<sup>1</sup> See *Bampton Lectures* of Canon Liddon, p. 594; also Döllinger’s *Gentile and Jew*, vol. i. p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian, *Apol.* c. xvi. Epiphanius also says that ‘the Egyptians celebrate the festivals of Typhon under the form of an ass, which they call Seth’—(*Adv. Hær.* iii. p. 1093). And Bunsen observes that ‘the name *Sutech*, or *Seth*, occurs as an ass in Salvolini’s extract from the MS. of Aïx on the strength of the army of Sesostris, where he quotes the Greek transcript of the name **ΣΗΘ**’—(*Egypt’s Place*, i. 439).

<sup>3</sup> Wilkinson’s *Manners and Customs*, &c. plate xxxix.; Burton’s *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, plate xxxvii.

nations of the world. The tablet was erected in honour of 'Sutech, the god of the Shepherds.' De Rougé, who gives a full account of Mariette's discovery, considers that 'the name *Noubti* belongs to the dynasty of the Shepherd kings, and that Ramesses liked to trace his genealogy from him;' and he adds that 'Noubti is the Egyptian name for the god *Sutech*.'<sup>1</sup> Hence it is not improbable but that 'the era Noubti,' or Sutech, may have taken its rise from Pharaoh's recognition of Sutech as 'the God of the Hebrews;' which agrees chronologically with what Egyptologists have assumed for the commencement of the Noubti era upon totally different grounds. M. Vincent, a member of the French Institute, asserts that B.C. 1801 is the exact year for the beginning of the era;<sup>2</sup> and Joseph's viceroyalty commenced, according to our computation, B.C. 1803. If we count on 400 years from this beginning we are brought to B.C. 1401-3, at which time all are agreed that Ramesses the Great was reigning in Egypt.

Our interpretation of the deity *Sutech*, as the god both of the Hycsos and the Hebrews, and eventually placed in the Egyptian pantheon, just as Tiberius proposed to the Senate to admit Christ into that of Rome, may serve to explain an inscription on a monument at Thebes, which represents Pharaoh Manepthah, son and successor of Ramesses the Great, as worshipping 'the god Sutech of Avaris.' Ewald, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 450, asserts that *Avaris* means philologically nothing less than 'the city of the Hebrews;' and De Rougé shows<sup>3</sup> from the monuments that Avaris is the same as the *Tanis* of the Greeks and the *Zoan* of Scripture; which in Hebrew signifies 'motion,' and the equivalent for *Hawar* or *Avar*, 'the place of departure,' from which the Israelites went forth at the time of the Exodus; and hence we may not be far wrong if we interpret the inscription 'the God Sutech of Avaris,' as bearing in its esoteric meaning 'JEHOVAH THE GOD OF THE CITY OF THE HEBREWS.'

Pharaoh's recognition of the God of the Hebrews, when the captive Joseph had interpreted his dream, is followed by acts thus recorded:—'And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck, and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had, and they cried before him, *Abrech*; and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt, and called Joseph's name *Zaphnath-*

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, x. p. 130, and for Mariette's own account of the tablet, see *Rev. Arch.* xi. p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* x. p. 489.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* vii. p. 250.

*paaneah*; and he gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, Prince of On.<sup>1</sup>

A monument at Thebes, representing the investiture of an officer of high rank in the presence of Pharaoh Seti, father of Ramesses the Great, recalls to mind the above scene, as the nobleman thus invested is seen clad 'in vestures of fine linen,' and a 'gold chain is placed about his neck,' exactly as had been done to Joseph three centuries before at the command of the reigning king.<sup>2</sup> It is not certain what is the exact meaning of the Egyptian words '*Abreck*' and '*Zaphnath-paaneah*,' which Moses uses in the narrative of Joseph's exaltation. Our English version renders the former 'Bow the knee.' Rossellini, and after him Gesenius, suggest 'incline, or bow the head.' Osburn<sup>3</sup> says the term is frequently met with on the monuments, and renders it 'pure prince.' Others prefer 'tender father.' Canon Cook, in his *Excursus*, seems to render the term by 'Rejoice thou,' as most in accordance with Egyptian custom; and gives an inscription of Ramesses the Great with the expression *Ab-seu-nek*, 'they rejoice before thee; which is the most probable meaning of the term, as the context tells us that the people cried before him, i.e. shouted out in his presence '*Abreck!*'

Concerning the name '*Zaphnath-paaneah*,' the differences amongst Egyptologists as to its proper meaning are still more numerous than in the previous instance; but these were chiefly the guesses of critics before the knowledge of hieroglyphics had reached its present stage. Canon Cook shows with complete success that the word is not unfrequently met with on the monuments as well as in the papyri. It is to be found in paragraphs marked Nos. 162, 164, and 167 of the Turin papyrus, and occurs in the rings of three Pharaohs of the thirteenth dynasty,<sup>4</sup> very near the time of Joseph, and has this signification, '*Food of life*,' and is peculiarly appropriate to the circumstances connected with Joseph's rise.

Although no monumental proof has yet been discovered in Egypt respecting the 'seven years' famine, it is interesting to know that the Hamyaritic<sup>5</sup> inscriptions and the Chinese

<sup>1</sup> Genesis xli. 42-45.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, &c. plate lxxx.

<sup>3</sup> Osburn's *Israel in Egypt*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Lepsius' *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter*, Taf. xix. 282, 284.

<sup>5</sup> The following translation of a Hamyaritic inscription found amid the ruins of a fortress at Hisn Ghorâb, in Arabia, is believed to refer to the 'seven years' famine which afflicted Egypt and all lands in the time of Joseph. The late Rev. Charles Forster has given an interesting account of this remarkable inscription, and the way in which it has been preserved



archives alike bear testimony to the truth of the Mosaic record. That of the latter is so interesting that it deserves mention. It is there recorded that 'in the beginning of the reign of *Ching-tang* there happened a drought and *famine all over the empire which lasted seven years*, during which time no rain fell.'<sup>1</sup> According to the Hebrew computation the 'seven years' famine in Egypt may be dated B.C. 1796-1789. According to Chinese chronology, the Emperor Kie, the immediate predecessor of Ching-tang, began to reign B.C. 1823, and Ching-tang died B.C. 1758. Kie is represented as the greatest monster of vice and cruelty ever known in China. His cruelties, which commenced B.C. 1804, caused the nobles to rebel against him. The confusion arising from the long civil war which ensued makes the exact date of Ching-tang's reign less clear than it otherwise would be; but since the two reigns, which include a period of sixty-five years, contain the time of 'the seven years' famine' in Egypt, we have the strongest grounds for concluding that the famine mentioned in the Chinese annals and the one recorded in Scripture refer to one and the same event.

In the life of the late Baron Bunsen mention is made of the delight with which he received a communication, when at Rome in 1853, from Dr. Birch, with the decipherment of a hieroglyphic inscription, a portion of which reads as follows:—'*When in the time of Sesertesen I. the great famine prevailed in all the other districts of Egypt, there was corn in mine.*'<sup>2</sup> Bunsen hastily pronounced this to be 'a certain and incontrovertible proof' of the seven years' famine in the time of

by Albert Schultens in his *Monumenta Vetustiora Arabia*, and originally discovered by Abderrahman about A.D. 660. It reads as follows:—

'We dwelt at ease in this castle a long tract of time; nor had we a desire but for the land of the vineyard.

Hundreds of camels returned to us each day at evening, pleasant to behold them in their resting places.

We dwelt in this castle *seven years of good life*—how difficult for memory to describe it!

Then came years barren and burnt up:—

When one evil year had passed, there came another to succeed it,

And we became as though we had never seen a glimpse of good.

They died, and neither foot nor hoof remained.

Thus far is it with him who renders not thanks to God:

His footsteps will be blotted away from his dwelling.'

Compare Genesis xli. 22 *et seq.*; Exodus x. 26; Forster's *Arabia*, ii. 92; and *Sinai Photographed*, p. 298.

<sup>1</sup> *History of China*, collected out of Martinus, Couplet, and du Halde. Jackson's *Chronological Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> *Egypt's Place*, iii. p. 334.

Joseph. Brugsch,<sup>1</sup> with far better reasons, both as an Egyptologist, of which science Bunsen knew nothing, and as a believer in the Mosaic record, pronounced his conclusion 'impossible for reasons chronological.' With this we entirely agree; for, independent of the fact that the reign of Sesertesen I. preceded that of Joseph's Pharaoh by about two centuries, if we note the Scripture record we see how much it differs from the words on the monument. In Genesis xli. 54 it is written, 'The seven years' dearth was *in all lands*; but *in all the land of Egypt there was bread.*' The inscription which is on the tomb of Amenj Amenemha, governor of the *nome* or district of Sah in Upper Egypt, a nobleman of the court of Pharaoh Sesertesen I., tells of a great famine extending *over all Egypt, save one district*; Scripture records that the seven years' famine was *in all lands but Egypt.* Surely these cannot refer to the same event.

One result of the seven years' famine and Joseph's inspired provision to meet the emergency, is seen in the subsequent change which took place respecting the tenure of land in Egypt. The narrative in Genesis records the way in which Joseph apportioned four-fifths of the land to the people, reserving one-fifth for Pharaoh himself, 'except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.'<sup>2</sup> A modern historian observes on this subject:—

'The tombs of the eras which follow that of Apophis bear unequivocal testimony to a great political change having taken place in the condition of the inhabitants of Egypt at this period, when we compare them with those of the preceding epochs. In old Egypt scarcely an act of any Pharaoh is recorded in the tombs of his subjects. Nor does his name appear at all save in the names of their estates, and sometimes in their own names. But in the tombs of the new kingdom, or that of the times which followed Joseph, all this is reversed. Nor is this difference confined to the secular princes of Egypt only. The inspired narrative visibly requires in addition, that a difference, at the least equally perceptible, should appear in the condition of the priesthood at the two epochs now under comparison. Such is certainly the case. The priest has risen greatly in authority and importance in the state. His office becomes more and more exclusive and hereditary, until at length he ascends the throne of the Pharaohs, and rules all Egypt by a dynasty of priest-kings. For all this, the inspired narrative gives us the amply

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire d'Egypte*, p. 56. The little confidence we can have in Bunsen's interpretation of Scripture may be seen in the fact that in one place he estimates the sojourn in Egypt to have lasted over eight centuries, and in another place over fourteen centuries! Compare *Egypt's Place*, iii. 357, with v. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis xlvii. 26.

sufficient cause in the forbearance of Apophis to exact payment for the corn supplied to the temples during the famine. The remains of the institutions of Joseph are likewise traceable in the account of the laws and customs of Egypt preserved in the Greek tradition. We find from Diodorus that the tripartite division of the soil, so clearly implied in the Scripture account of the reforms of Joseph, was in full force at the time of his visit to Egypt. For the sake of convenience the whole land had been included in one arrangement. The fifth of Pharaoh had been commuted for the cession of a determinate portion of the surface of every province of Egypt; so that there were three classes of landed proprietors only, the priest, the king, and the soldier, or secularity. This is evidently the arrangement made by Joseph, with a very trifling modification, notwithstanding that 1,800 years elapsed between his day and the visit of Diodorus.<sup>1</sup>

Another instance of the Scripture narrative of Joseph being in harmony with the Egyptian monuments appears in the record concerning his age at the time of death. The book of Genesis closes with the assertion that Joseph died at the age of 110. Bunsen, adopting the strange theory that it was next to a physical impossibility for a centenarian to exist then as now, declares that 'the 110 years of Joseph could not be historical,' affirming that his real age was probably not greater than 78.<sup>2</sup> Now it is a singular fact that we have the evidence both of the monuments and the papyri that the Egyptians recognized the term of 110 years as the limit of human longevity; and as this can be traced for several centuries almost to the period of Joseph's death, and during that period became proverbial amongst the Egyptians, it is not improbable that this arose from the esteem which they entertained for Egypt's great benefactor. In the British Museum an inscription belonging to a court officer, named *Raka*, of the time of Ramesses the Great (14th century B.C.), reads, 'Adoration to Onophris, who granted me repose in the tomb *after 110 years on earth.*'

In the Munich Museum, on a statue of *Baken-Konsoro*, high-priest of Ammon, in the time of Pharaoh Seti (15th century B.C.), the inscription contains a prayer that Ammon would grant his servant '*the happy life of 110 years.*' And a second inscription in the British Museum, on a black stone, of a most unusual nature, as it is carved in hieratic characters in place of hieroglyphs, dated the 21st year of Amenophis III. (16th century B.C.), speaks of certain benefactions which are promised to the objects of the charity 'during

<sup>1</sup> Osburn's *Monumental History of Egypt*, ii. c. ii. p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Egypt's Place*, &c. iii. p. 342.

the days when they shall repose in the tomb *after 110 years.*'

Similar references to the same limit of longevity amongst the ancient Egyptians are frequently found in the papyri which have come to light. Thus, in the select papyri of the British Museum, named *Anastasi 3*, pl. 4, we have a flattering address to a scribe, in which the following expressions occur:—

'Thou approachest the fair Amenti (place of repose for the dead) without growing old, without being feeble; thou completest 110 years upon earth, thy limbs being still vigorous.' This reminds us of the death of the great lawgiver of the Jewish people. 'And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died; his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.'<sup>1</sup>

There is one more instance of a reference to this number of 110 years, which we must not omit to notice, as it belongs to a much earlier period in Egyptian history, and conveys a different lesson from those already quoted. From a papyrus brought from Thebes by M. Prisse d'Avennes, about thirty years ago, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, M. Chabas,<sup>2</sup> who has given a complete translation of its contents, has gathered the following facts:—It is a philosophical treatise written by a person named Ptah-hotep, in the reign of Pharaohs Asseth and Snufu, kings of the fourth dynasty, and therefore about six centuries prior to the time of Moses. Ptah-hotep is described as the eldest son of Asseth, and while his father was still living appears to speak of himself as having attained 'the age of 110 in the king's court among the nobles of the land.' The father must then have attained the age of one hundred and thirty at least, or perhaps more; and as he must have lived prior to the time of Abraham, we infer from it that the limit of human longevity was higher amongst the Egyptians in those early days, as it was with the Hebrews, than it became in the time of Joseph. Moreover, M. Mariette<sup>3</sup> has shown, in his description of the tombs belonging to the first six dynasties, that the formula of benediction was not, as we have already seen it became after the time of Joseph, 'May you obtain repose in the tomb after a happy life of 110 years on earth;' but, 'May you obtain repose, &c., after a happy and prolonged old age,' without any number of years being specified. From these circumstances we gather that the

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxxiv. 7.      <sup>2</sup> *Revue Archéologique* for 1858, p. 1 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Revue Archéologique* for 1868, p. 388.

monuments of Egypt confirm the Scripture narrative respecting the age at which Joseph died.

If we are correct in our assumption that Pharaoh Apophis was the patron of Joseph, still clearer does it appear that the head of the eighteenth dynasty, Amosis, the conqueror of the Shepherds, was the 'new king which knew not Joseph.' We have already adduced the evidence of a papyrus to show that when the Shepherd king, Apophis, had the whole land of Egypt under his dominion, he was resisted by a native prince named *Ra-skenen*, who appears to have been the father or immediate predecessor of Amosis the Conqueror. Moreover, the very expression used in Scripture to denote the rise of him who became the persecutor of the children of Israel, implies far more than a mere change of dynasty, such as occurs whenever a new family succeeds to the throne by marriage (witness the many instances of this in the history of England), but rather such a change as that which took place when William the Conqueror supplanted the Saxon race, who had then been reigning in England for upwards of six centuries. Canon Cook has justly observed on this subject:—

'It is at once clear that the expressions used in Exodus to describe the Pharaoh by whom the Israelites were first persecuted, apply, in the fullest and most literal sense, to Amosis. . . . The name of Joseph, as a minister of the ejected dynasty, would probably be unknown to him. Nor can there be any doubt as to the feelings with which a king in his position may have regarded the Israelites. There is no question as to his finding them in Goshen; that is admitted by all. They were there as the subjects, apparently the favoured subjects, of the expelled dynasty, under whom they retained undisturbed possession of the richest district of Egypt, commanding the western approach to the very heart of the land.'<sup>1</sup>

The first task imposed upon the recently enslaved Israelites by the 'new king,' was to 'build for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses.'<sup>2</sup> It has been assumed by those Egyptologists who ignore all Scripture authority, that as the name of one of these treasure cities or fortresses was 'Raamses,' it must be regarded as proof positive that it was so called after Ramesses I. or II., one of the early kings of the nineteenth dynasty. But this argument, if worth anything, goes a great deal farther, as it equally proves that the same name was in use nearly a century earlier, at the

<sup>1</sup> *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i. p. 453.  
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<sup>2</sup> Exodus i. 11.

commencement of Joseph's viceroyalty, since it is recorded, 'Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, *in the land of Rameses*, as Pharaoh had commanded.'<sup>1</sup> All we can gather from these brief notices is, that at the time when Moses lived and wrote the Pentateuch, a treasure city and the best portion of the Delta, in which the favoured children of Israel had originally been settled, bore a name which is variously rendered as 'Raamses' or 'Rameses.' Now as it happens, recent discoveries have brought to light the fact that one of the sons of Pharaoh Amosis, the 'new king,' bore this very name. In Hebrew it is written R H M S S, and probably was pronounced *Ramess*. In hieroglyphs it is written Ra-M SS; whereas the Pharaohs of that name, who reigned two centuries later, usually have the final *u* at the end of their name; so that the more exact rendering of it in English would rather be *Ramessu* than *Ramesses* or *Raamses*. And thus it appears that the Hebrew name, as it is written in Exodus, is more like that of one of the conqueror's sons, which is thus inscribed on his cartouche,<sup>2</sup> '*The King's son, Ra-MSS everliving*,' than that of the subsequent line of Pharaohs. And what more likely than that the conqueror should name one of the treasure cities, which he compelled the enslaved Israelites to build, after a member of his own royal family?

The other treasure city, named 'Pithom,' affords similar proof of its having been built long before the dynasty of the Ramesses. For although it is true that the name 'Pithom,' which Brugsch has identified with the *Pâ-chtoum en Zalou*, i.e. 'the treasure city or fortress of Thom, built by foreign captives,' is found in the Temple of Ammon, at Karnac, of the time of Pharaoh Seti I., son of Ramesses I., and father of Ramesses II., it has also been found two centuries earlier, in the annals of Thothmes III., grandson of the conqueror Amosis; and there can be little doubt but that it was the original treasure city *Pithom*, built by the enslaved children of Israel.<sup>3</sup>

In order to see at a glance the claims which the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty have for identification with the Pharaohs of the time of Moses, it may be well to insert a brief genealogical sketch of the order in which they stand,

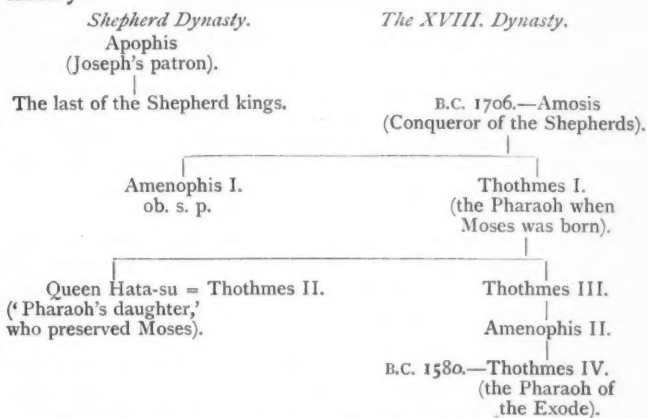
<sup>1</sup> Genesis xlvii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter*, von C. Lepsius, Tafeln xxiii., xxx.—xxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Brugsch, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 129, with Brugsch, *Géograph. Inscript.* iii. 21.



according to the monuments, the papyri, and Manetho's history :—



It has been much disputed as to the Pharaoh said to have been drowned in the Red Sea. Canon Cook considers that it must have been Thothmes II.; Sir Gardner Wilkinson selected Thothmes III. Dr. Nolan and others name Thothmes IV., and with the latter we are inclined to agree, thinking the weight of evidence points to Thothmes IV. rather than to either of his predecessors of the same name. It has been sometimes asserted that the absence of any names resembling the ‘Hebrews’ or ‘Jews,’ or ‘Israelites,’ has not yet been discovered on any of the Egyptian monuments. But this is not quite certain. In the statistical tablet of Karnac, erected by Thothmes III., on which Dr. Birch has commented with his usual skill and ability, we find amongst the names of various captive tribes that of *Hebu* as the seventy-ninth on the list;<sup>1</sup> which is sufficiently near that of ‘*Hebrews*’ to make it possible they refer to one and the same people.

So in an inscription lately deciphered by Dr. Brugsch,<sup>2</sup> certain captives called the ‘*Fenchu*’ are represented as transporting blocks of limestone from the quarries of Rufu (the Troja of Strabo) to Memphis and other cities. The name *Fenchu* signifies ‘bearers of the shepherd’s staff;’ and the occupation of these captives corresponds with the forced labour of the Israelites in their bondage. Brugsch observes—‘With this name are designated the pastoral and nomad tribes of

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1861, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> See Brugsch in *Zeitschrift* for November, 1867.

Semitic origin, who lived in the neighbourhood of Egypt, and who are to be thought of as standing to Egypt in the same relation as the Jews.'

M. Chabas<sup>1</sup> has endeavoured to identify another tribe of captives with the enslaved Israelites. He discovered a few years ago in a papyrus of the Leyden Museum the name of a tribe which he reads as that of *Aperi-u*, who are employed in drawing stone for the Temple of the Sun, built by Ramesses the Great near Memphis, and contends that the *Aperi-u* must refer to the *Hebrews*, and can mean nothing else. Independent of chronology interfering with this theory, Dr. Birch has discovered this same tribe of the *Aperi-u* employed as slaves in Egypt during the reign of Ramesses IV., i.e. about a century before the time of King Saul, which proves the impossibility of identifying the Hebrew with the *Aperi-u*.

In reference to what is stated respecting the preservation of Moses from the water<sup>2</sup> by 'Pharaoh's daughter,' it would appear from Exodus i. 10, Acts vii. 22, and Hebrews xi. 24,

<sup>1</sup> 'Cette identification,' says M. Chabas, 'qui repose sur une juste application de principes philologiques incontestables, et sur un ensemble de circonstances caractéristiques, n'a été contesté par aucun égyptologue'—*Mélanges Egypt.* Deux. série, p. 144. Nevertheless, we venture to contest these conclusions on philological grounds. The exact mode of rendering 'Hebrews' in Roman characters would be *Haberim*. The hieroglyphic characters read literally *Apu-ri-aa-a*. It will be seen that the third letter is written as *u* in place of *e*; and as it is the same hieroglyph as the final letter which M. Chabas reads as *u*, he is not warranted in making such a change. Nor can the hieroglyphic letters approximate sufficiently near to the Hebrew word *Haberim* to warrant our identification of them as the same people. We gladly do homage to M. Chabas as an eminent Egyptian scholar, but we do not believe there is a single English Egyptologist who has accepted his conclusion on this point. For a full examination of this question see Canon Cook's *Excursus* in the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i. p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> Moses, מֹשֶׁה. If the Hebrew etymology is adopted, it is expressly said in Exodus ii. 10, to refer to his being 'drawn out of the water.' Hence Josephus derives the word from the Coptic ΠΥ 'water' and ΟΥΧΕ 'to deliver'—(*Antiq.* ii. 9, § 6). The equivalent to the word Moses in the hieroglyphic characters is found in the names of both the grandfather and the father of 'Pharaoh's daughter,' which might be read according to the Greek transcript as *A-moses*, *Thoth-moses*. Brugsch shows, in his *Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, that the sense 'drawing out' is the original one; but Birch seems to limit it to being 'born' or 'brought forth,' and hence the signification of *Mes* or *Mesa* is 'child.' Canon Cook renders the speech of Pharaoh's daughter on having adopted Moses as 'her son'—'I give him the name of Moses—"brought forth"—because I brought him forth from the water'—(*Excursus*, p. 483). It is worthy of note that Josephus calls Pharaoh's daughter by the name of 'Thermuthis,' which is most probably meant for 'Thoth-moses,' the name of her father.

that he was reared as her adopted son, with the possible succession to the throne, only that he 'chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt.' 'Pharaoh's daughter' must have been a queen regnant in her own right, as none but such could have compelled a jealous priesthood to train her adopted child 'in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.' It can be satisfactorily shown by the monuments, that in the whole line of Pharaohs from the third dynasty, when the name appears to have come into use, until the Persian conquest, extending over sixteen centuries, there was only one real queen regnant, whose name is known to us as such during that long period of time. Her name appears on the monuments in full as *Hat-asu-Numpt-amun*, and just in the place we should expect to find her from the account in Exodus, being, as seen in the above pedigree, the granddaughter of the 'king which knew not Joseph.' She reigned many years in Egypt, first in the name of her father, then conjointly with her husband, and subsequently in the name of her younger half-brother,<sup>1</sup> Thothmes III., who after her death sought to erase from the monuments every sign of his sister's rule over Egypt, either through revenge at her having offered the succession to Moses, or from some other unknown cause.

Queen *Hat-asu* is invariably represented on her monuments with a beard, to denote that she was a sovereign in her own right like our own Queen Victoria. She erected two obelisks at Thebes in memory of her father, one of which is still standing, and the fragments of the other are scattered all around. The standing one, the second largest and certainly the most beautiful obelisk in the world, is formed of a single block of red granite, highly polished, with reliefs and hieroglyphs of matchless beauty.<sup>2</sup> The inscription on the plinth states that it was commenced in the fifteenth year of Queen *Hat-asu's* reign and completed in the seventeenth. On each side of the obelisk it is stated that she reigned 'in the name of her father;' and amongst other titles which she bears—such as

<sup>1</sup> Any one who has seen the exquisitely beautiful Grecian style of features belonging to Queen *Hat-asu* as represented in Rossellini's great work, and compares it with the bust (original) of Thothmes III. as it stands in the British Museum, with its hideous negro cast of countenance, will be inclined to doubt if they could be as nearly related as even half-brother and sister. The picture of Thothmes III., as given in the *Types of Man-kind*, in no way resembles the original, and proves what little reliance can be placed on that pretentious work.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of this fine obelisk is given in Burton's *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, plate xlviii.

'royal wife'—'Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt'—is found the significant and well-known name of

'PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.'

The temple of Dier-el-Bahari, at Thebes, is another monument due to the magnificence of Queen *Hat-asu*, on the walls of which are sculptured with great skill, and in the highest style of Egyptian art, the details of a campaign against the Ethiopians in the Arabian peninsula. They represent the Egyptian commander-in-chief of Queen *Hat-asu's* army receiving the enemy's general, who presents himself as a suppliant before him, accompanied by his wife and daughter.<sup>1</sup> And it is not impossible but that the figure of the commander-in-chief of Queen *Hat-asu's* army may refer to her adopted son *Moses*; for Scripture teaches that he became 'mighty in words and deeds' in Egypt, as well as in 'refusing to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter.' Josephus and Irenæus<sup>2</sup> alike relate the 'fame which Moses gained as general of the Egyptian army in a war with Ethiopia,' which, though encumbered with a good deal of romance, still helps to explain a statement in the Book of Numbers<sup>3</sup> that Moses married a woman of that country.

Perhaps the most satisfactory evidence from the monuments of the existence of the Israelites in Egypt at this period of history is seen in the well-known picture of the brick-makers at the village of Gournow, near Thebes, at which place there still exists the remains of a magnificent tomb belonging to an Egyptian nobleman named *Ros-she-ra*. He appears to have been overseer of all the public buildings in Egypt during the reign of Thothmes III. The paintings on this tomb<sup>4</sup> afford proof, not only of the Israelites being in Egypt at the time Moses was compelled to flee to Midian, but of their being forcibly engaged in the occupation of brickmaking.

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of this interesting record of 'Pharaoh's daughter,' see *Aperçu de l'Histoire Ancienne d'Égypte*, par Auguste Mariette Bey, p. 32 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Antiq.* II. x. § 2; Irenæus, *Frag. de Perdid. Iren. Tract.* p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> Numbers xii. 1. Three different views have been taken of this text: (1) A real inhabitant of Ethiopia, or a Cushite, *i.e.* an Arabian (see Bryant's *Analysis*, vi. 122. (2) The Ethiopian princess, mentioned by Josephus. (3) Zipporah herself; which last opinion is possible from the juxtaposition of Cush with Midian in Habbakuk iii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> The paintings are admirably delineated in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii. Bl. 40.

There are several inscriptions on this remarkable monument, some of which read as follows:—

The centre inscription—

‘Captives brought by his Majesty Thothmes III.

To carry on the works at the Temple of Ammon.’

On the left the inscription reads—

‘Moulding bricks for making a treasure city or fortress in Thebes.’<sup>1</sup>

On the right—

‘The chief taskmaster says to the builders : Work  
Actively with the hands. Be not idle. Let there be no giving in.’

Some of these captives bear the unmistakeable features of the Hebrew race; and among them four Egyptian taskmasters are represented as described in the Book of Exodus, so as to leave no reason for doubt but that the picture is a striking commentary on the oppression of the children of Israel. Wilkinson remarks ‘that more bricks bearing the name of Thothmes III. have been discovered than of any other period.’ And Rossellini adds that ‘the bricks which are now found in Egypt, belonging to this reign, *always have straw mingled with them*, although in some of those that are most carefully made it is found in very small quantities.’<sup>2</sup>

A variety of incidents seem to support the theory that the grandson of Thothmes III., and bearing the same name, was the individual Pharaoh overthrown in the Red Sea. It appears from the monuments that his reign was both short and inglorious, which agrees with what Scripture records of this infatuated king. A tablet between the paws of the Great Sphinx at Ghizeh is one of the few monuments remaining of this monarch, besides the obelisk at Rome.<sup>3</sup> Another inscription, discovered on a granite rock

<sup>1</sup> It has been objected by some that it was not likely the captive Israelites should be removed so far from the place of their bondage in Lower Egypt to work at buildings in Thebes in Upper Egypt; but independent of the fact that the inscription specifies that these captives were ‘brought’ from some place for this special service, the Biblical record states that ‘the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw.’—*Exodus* v. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The writer has in his possession, taken by a friend from a tomb in Egypt, a brick die, stamped with the name and titles of this same Pharaoh Thothmes III., but he has not been able to discover any straw in the composition of the brick, though examined by means of a powerful magnifying glass.

<sup>3</sup> This obelisk, commonly called the Obelisk of St. John Lateran, which was originally intended for the granite sanctuary at Karnac, and removed subsequently to Rome, bears the inscription of three kings, *viz.* Thothmes

opposite the island of Philæ, on the Nile, has this singular circumstance connected with it. After the usual boasting titles, it stops suddenly short with the disjunctive particle 'then,' evidently pointing to defeat and disaster, which were certainly the characteristics of this Pharaoh's reign.<sup>1</sup> The inference that he was the Pharaoh overthrown in the Red Sea appears to be confirmed by the fact that after all the careful researches of modern explorers, *no trace has been found of this king's tomb* in the royal burial-place near Thebes, where the sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty lie; though that of his successor, Amenophis III., has been discovered in a valley adjoining the cemetery of the other kings.<sup>2</sup>

This may be explained by the fact that he was drowned in the Red Sea along with the rest of the army, as David<sup>3</sup> teaches, and as Christendom has universally believed until the present day; or, if this be not an historical fact, as Wilkinson contends, it may be explained by supposing the Pharaoh of the Exode to be the same as that king of the eighteenth dynasty whom Eusebius describes under the Greek name of *Danaus*, as having been expelled from Egypt in the fifth year of his reign by his younger brother, when he fled to Greece, and there established another kingdom.<sup>4</sup> Other authorities give the name of 'Cecrops' to the Pharaoh who is supposed to have been the first to lead a colony from Egypt to Greece.<sup>5</sup> Accepting this as one of the traditional legends connected with the Exode of the children of Israel, we have a singular confirmation of the Biblical date for that important event, which we reckon at B.C. 1580. The *Parian Chronicle* at Oxford, a monument of the very highest authority, inas-

III. and Thothmes IV. and Ramesses the Great. From the inscription on the left side it appears that thirty-five years intervened between the death of Thothmes III. and Thothmes IV., which accords tolerably well with the duration of the reign of the intervening king Amenophis II., who must have been either the father or elder brother of Thothmes IV.

—*Records of the Past*, vol. ix. p. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Osburn's *Monum. History of Egypt*, ii. p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson's *Thebes*, pp. 122, 123.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm cxxxvi. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. *Chron. Canon*. liber prior, cap. xx. In Jerome's reading of the *Armenian Chronicle*, it is said of this Pharaoh Thothmes IV., that after he had reigned five years in Egypt, he was driven from the throne by his brother 'Egyptus,' and fled to Greece, where he founded the city of Argos, and reigned over the Argives under the name of Danaus.—Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> S. Augustine says that 'in the reign of Cecrops, king of Athens, God brought his people out of Egypt by Moses.'—*De Civitate Dei*, lib. xviii. § 8. Cecrops is said to have been a native of Sais, in Egypt, who led a colony to Greece.



much as it was engraved as early as B.C. 264, opens with this announcement:—'Since Cecrops reigned at Athens, and the country was called Actica, from Actæus, the native, 1318 years have elapsed.'<sup>1</sup> Now  $1318 + 264 = \text{B.C. } 1582$ , *i.e.* within two years of our computation of the date of the Exode according to the Hebrew chronology.

In confirmation that this date for the time of the Exode more nearly harmonizes with the Biblical chronology than any other system, besides what has already been gathered from Manetho, we might adduce the testimony of the Apis cycle,<sup>2</sup> which has been made useful for chronological purposes by Mariette's discovery of sixty-four remains of the mummified Apēs or Sacred Bulls—the genealogy of the chief architects<sup>3</sup> of Egypt, going back for a period of eight centuries to the time of Ramesses III., the true date of whose accession has been fixed with astronomical exactness by M. Biot to B.C. 1311<sup>4</sup>—the mission of a Theban idol of the oracle of Khunsu to the city of Nineveh in the thirty-third year of Ramesses XII., B.C. 12th century,<sup>5</sup> the correctness of which has been confirmed by an inscription of Sennacherib incidentally mentioning Tiglath-pileser I., the predecessor by some centuries of the king of Assyria of that name mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 29;<sup>6</sup> all these, and many other incidental matters bearing on the same point, appear to show that there is greater evidence in favour of finding the Pharaoh of the Exode in one of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, than that other system of Egyptology which places him about two centuries later among the kings of the nineteenth dynasty.

Assuming, then, the identification of Thothmes IV. with the Pharaoh of the Exode, it is not quite certain that his successor Amenophis III., who is known in history as the Pharaoh of the musical statue on the plains of Thebes, either succeeded his reputed father immediately on his death, or was indeed his son, as he pretended to be. The history of that period is

<sup>1</sup> *Marmora Arundelliana*, p. 6. Selden's edition, London, 1628. This was one of the few uninjured lines in the *Parian Chronicle* when Selden published his work.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Sérapeum de Memphis découvert et décrit*, par M. Mariette. Paris, 1863.

<sup>3</sup> See *Egyptian Chronicles*, by William Palmer, M.A., pp. 592–596.

<sup>4</sup> 'Les calculs de l'illustre Biot ont établi que . . . nous pouvons inscrire avec une certitude mathématique et absolue l'avènement de Rhamses III. à l'an 1311.'—*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, par F. Lenormant, vol. i. p. 300.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Birch's article in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. xxiv.

<sup>6</sup> Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, iv. pp. 681–691.

singularly confused and perplexing at that very point, which may be explained by the disturbed state of the kingdom which naturally followed the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea. Wilkinson says, that though 'Amenophis III. calls himself the son of Thothmes IV., there is reason to believe that he was not of pure Egyptian race. His features differ very much from those of other Pharaohs, and the respect paid to him by some of the "stranger kings" seems to confirm this, and to argue that he was partly of the same race as those kings who afterwards usurped the throne, and made their name and rule so odious to the Egyptians.'<sup>1</sup> If this surmise be correct, it is noteworthy to see how far it agrees with the Biblical statement that the eldest son of the Pharaoh of the Exode did not succeed his father on the throne, as it is written, 'At midnight Jehovah smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, *from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne*, unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon'—(Exodus xii. 29).<sup>2</sup>

Another incident at this period of the history of Egypt seems to confirm our view respecting the Pharaoh of the Exode. Shortly after the death of Thothmes IV. a change took place in the national religion, such as might be expected from the failure of the Egyptian priesthood to ward off the heavy judgments with which their country had been visited by the God of Israel. Dr. Birch observes, that 'in the reign of Amenophis III. the worship of *Aten* or *Atenra*, the sun's disk or orb, first appears. This name, which resembles that of the Hebrew Adonai, or Lord, and the Syrian Adonis, either points to a foreign religion introduced into Egypt, or it may have been connected with the sun-worship, which had then assumed an undue influence or development.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Appendix II. viii. § 21.

<sup>2</sup> It is a singular fact that the walls of the palace at Luxor still show a sculpture representing the birth of Pharaoh Thothmes IV.'s eldest son. His wife, Queen Mautmes, is represented as receiving a message from the god Thoth, that she is to have a child. Then Kneph, the *spirit*, and Hathor the goddess of order, whose type was the cow, take her by both hands and breathe into her mouth the principle of life for the child about to be born. Then the queen is placed upon a stool after the manner of Egyptian mothers, as mentioned in Exodus i. 16. Sharpe, in his *History of Egypt*, i. 65, gives a representation of this sculpture.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæological Journal*, viii. p. 405. Amenophis III. is the Pharaoh of the musical statue on the plains of Thebes, and known to the Greeks by the name of 'Memnon.' De Quincey, in one of his admirable Essays, observes—'The object which some thirty-four years ago in the British Museum struck me as simply the sublimest sight which in this sight-seeing world I had seen, was the Memnon's head, then recently brought

The testimony of Manetho concerning this period of Egypt's history is, to a considerable extent, in harmony with the Biblical story of the Exodus, though he mingles his account of that event with the expulsion of the Shepherds, for he mentions the leader of the Israelites by name, as well as the country to which they went. He says that 'the Shepherds were subdued by Amosis, and driven out of Egypt, and shut up in a place called *Avaris*, with 480,000 men; and that in despair of success, he compounded with them to quit Egypt with their families and goods, on which they departed in number 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness of Syria, where they built a city, and named it *Jerusalem*, in a country now called *Judea*. It was also reported that the priest who ordained their government and their laws was by birth of Heliopolis; but that when he went over to these people his name was changed, and he was called *Moses*.'<sup>1</sup> Considering that Moses was reared at the court of a Pharaoh, one of whose capitals was certainly Heliopolis, we see in the Egyptian tradition, which was current when Manetho wrote, about thirteen centuries later, an undesigned testimony to the truth of the sacred story.

In the five centuries following the Exode, little or no intercourse appears to have taken place between Israel and Egypt. During the reign of David, Hadad the Edomite, who rebelled against his sovereign, fled to Egypt for refuge, and was well received by the reigning Pharaoh, who gave him in marriage his own wife's sister, 'the sister of Taphenes, the queen.'<sup>2</sup> Shortly afterwards, Solomon married the daughter of a Pharaoh, but whether they were the same or different kings we have no means of judging, as neither Scripture nor the monuments afford the slightest clue to their names.

The succeeding reign, however, witnessed the two nations at war for the first time since the passage of the Red Sea. In 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26, it is written, 'In the fifth year of King Rehoboam, Shishak, King of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem. And he took away the treasures of the house of the

from Egypt. I looked at it not as a human, but as a symbolic head; and what it symbolized to me were:—1. The peace which passeth all understanding. 2. The eternity which baffles and confounds all faculty of computation. 3. The diffusive love—an emanation from some mystery of endless dawn'—(*Works*, vol. iii. p. 198.) It does not affect the beauty of these remarks in the slightest degree, but we believe there is no head of Memnon in the British Museum. The only two gigantic ones there are the head of Thothmes III. and Ramesses the Great; and we think it must be to the latter that De Quincey so appropriately refers.

<sup>1</sup> Manetho apud Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i. §§ 14, 26.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xi. 19.

Lord, and of the king's house, and all the shields of gold which Solomon had made.' It is not merely that the reigns of King Rehoboam (B.C. 976—959) and Pharaoh Shishak (B.C. 980—959) synchronize according to the united testimony of Hebrew and Egyptian chronology, but the interest chiefly centres in the fact of a monumental record still existing in Egypt, which certifies the event exactly as related in Scripture. Champollion found on the outside of the great Temple of Karnac a long list of towns captured, and countries subdued, by Pharaoh Shishak I. The captives, who are depicted in the usual way, with their hands tied behind them, and shields on their breasts containing the names of their respective nations, are ranged in two vast groups. Amongst them the student can readily recognize certain well-known Scripture names, which have been read as follows:—

Land of *Mahan-ma*, which Rossellini considers to be the *Mahanaim* of Genesis xxxii. 2, an ancient city belonging to the tribe of Gad; land of *Baitaluria*, supposed to be the same as the two *Beth-horons*, which Solomon fortified according to 2 Chron. viii. 5; land of *Maktu*, interpreted as the Megiddo of 2 Kings xxiii. 29, where three centuries later Josiah, King of Judah, was defeated by another King of Egypt, who is mentioned as Pharaoh Necho. The fourth and most interesting name which the genius of Champollion detected is that of THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH, commonly but erroneously read as *Judah Melck*, which could only be rendered literally as 'Judah King.' Whereas the final hieroglyph being the determinative of a country, proves beyond all doubt that it means, not the reigning king, but the kingdom of Judah, which Pharaoh Shishak boasted of having subdued, and which exactly harmonizes with what Scripture records concerning his capture of Jerusalem, when, 'in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, Shishak, King of Egypt, came up against it, and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he took all. He carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon had made.'<sup>1</sup>

We conclude with this striking instance of the harmony

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26; 2 Chron. xii. 9. The writer possesses a photograph of this magnificent monument, recording Pharaoh Shishak's victories over his enemies. The figure of the king, as large as life, surrounded by inscriptions as legible as if they were done but yesterday (their real age being nearly 3,000 years), and amongst them the captive bearing on his breast the name of 'The kingdom of Judah' (this is the third figure in the list on a level with the king's knee), present a sight of no ordinary interest to the Biblical student. Copies of several of these figures are painted on the walls of the Egyptian Court in the Crystal Palace.

between the histories of Israel and Egypt. We do not deem it necessary to adduce others of a similar kind, as it is admitted by those who ignore Scripture that the age after Solomon has become sufficiently historical to acknowledge the records of the Bible without further doubt; but the Egyptian monuments have already yielded a satisfactory number of testimonies (and that many more will yet be added we confidently believe) to the truth of the story of Israel in Egypt as set forth in the oracles of the living God.

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#### ART. III.—BISHOP GRAY.

*Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of Africa.* Edited by his Son, the Rev. CHARLES GRAY, M.A., Vicar of Helmsley, York. With Portrait and Map. 2 vols. (London: Rivingtons.)

THE career of such a man as the first Bishop of Capetown is the common property of Christendom: it would have been impossible that such a life should have been lived and no record of it given to posterity: the question, rather, was, who should be worthy to attempt such a task, and now that the work has been done, as was fitting, with filial love and care, we rejoice to think that the great prelate's memory will in no degree suffer loss by the manner in which the biographer has acquitted himself. Of typographical errors we have noticed not a few, which will no doubt be removed from future editions; an admirable map helps us in forming an estimate of the magnitude of the Bishop's plans, labours, and journeyings, and of the network of ecclesiastical organization which he was permitted to spread over the land; the portrait which appears in the first volume recalls to those who knew him well, and who were privileged to share his counsels in hours of anxiety, the care-worn look which in his later years he was wont to wear, but we could have wished that the compiler had also given a copy of the better known portrait of the Bishop taken many years ago, before the burden of overwhelming work had effaced the natural sweetness and vigour of his features. These, however, are minor matters: the nominal editor, who disclaims the title of 'author,' has well discharged

his duty, but Mr. Charles Gray frankly and modestly tells us that the bulk of the work has been done by another hand, and that 'letters have been inserted and things have been said by another which would not have been admissible, had I been the author.'

Whosoever the hand that has given us this biography, we are thankful to receive it, being such as it is: the task was both difficult and responsible; in the history of the Anglican communion, Robert Gray will occupy at least a foremost, if not the most prominent place among the Bishops of the nineteenth century: another and a greater, who was in all respects save the accident of official precedence the premier Bishop of our times, has influenced the Church to a degree that will never be thoroughly estimated, but it was not given to Bishop Wilberforce to build up an ecclesiastical province in a land which he found a spiritual waste, and while thus occupying one of the Church's outposts, to exert a most real and beneficent influence, not only on the Mother Church, but wherever the Anglican faith has been embraced: and no man in our generation has done so much as Bishop Gray to recall us to first principles, and to show us by actual example that our real strength lies, not in the accident of human establishment, but in the essence of divine organization. The books before us, therefore, are not merely a biography, but a valuable contribution to contemporary history. As we look at them we cannot but reflect in how many and widely different places they will be eagerly read; while some will study them as the records of fierce theological controversies and of legal subtleties and refinements, and others will read with absorbing interest the story of missionary enterprise boldly commenced and patiently accomplished, they will be regarded with reverent tenderness in many a small up-country home in Africa, where the episcopal visit, once paid, led the inmates to live in hopes of its being repeated, as well as in many a rural parsonage at home, where the memory of the good Bishop's visit is cherished for some sweet courtesy, some kindly notice of little children, some simple tale of missionary adventure or some impulse given towards a higher level of spiritual living. Such as these were the legacies which he was ever unconsciously leaving behind him as he made his weary and exhausting tours throughout England in the interests of that adopted land from which in sympathy he was never separated.

There was nothing in the Bishop's early life which gave special promise of distinction: delicacy of constitution pre-



vented him from utilising to the full the advantages which are ever within the reach of an Eton boy and an Oxford man: he was unable to finish his career at Eton, and we read of his spending some time at Barbados for the sake of his own health and that of a sister, who died in that island, ministered to until the last by her two brothers, both younger than herself. At this time we find in the future Bishop's diary, which he seems to have always kept with much regularity, such entries as the following:—'Read prayers at home, Edward the lessons;' and when, on his homeward voyage, he found the Sundays unmarked by divine service, he wrote, on the first occasion, 'This day is spent far from what it ought to be,' and for the future he himself said the Church prayers, 'the ship rolling very much.' It must be borne in mind that at this time the writer was only seventeen years of age, and the habit of daily church-going was much more rare in 1827 than it is in 1876. In 1831 he graduated from University College, Oxford, and obtained an honorary fourth class: it was the first occasion on which four classes appeared in the list of Honour men, and he did not accept the distinction with satisfaction, lest it should be thought that he had aimed higher and had failed.

If we except the habit of severe self-examination which his diaries reveal to us, he would seem to have in no respect differed from the average of well-born and fairly educated young Englishmen of that day: he took an intelligent but not enthusiastic interest in passing events: he studied Italian and German, cultivated a moderate taste for art, and having added to his stock of accomplishments by Continental travel, was in 1833 ordained deacon by his father, the Bishop of Bristol, in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. Incidentally the story shows us how things were done in the Church forty years ago, for the young deacon had no curacy and no directly spiritual work. His father's health was enfeebled, and he devoted himself to the double duty of nursing him in his sickness and of managing his official correspondence. After a time he took a holiday of two months, which he spent at his brother's parish of Godmanchester, and here 'he fairly grappled with parish work, both in sick visiting and in preaching.' He had ever regarded the priesthood as his vocation: 'it was the determination of my childhood and the desire grew up with me,' and he seems to have entered on its duties with chastened and devout spirit.

It may, we suppose, be said with truth that just at this time the spiritual life of the Church of England had reached

its lowest depth: the Evangelical movement had indeed made itself felt, but its influence then, as always, was limited to individuals and to coteries of such individuals, and had failed to make its mark on the Church or Nation in the aggregate. The demand for Reform was agitating the political atmosphere, and the opposition which was offered to it effectually fanned the flame and increased the clamour of disaffection. The Tories, who, while they subordinated their religion to their politics, instead of their politics to their religion, were yet the representatives of the highest religious life of the period, unhappily persisted in identifying the security of the Church with the maintenance of things as they were, and by per-versely taking the place of apologists of palpable abuses compromised the very interests which they desired to serve. Robert Gray was no doubt imbued with the principles which were wont to prevail in episcopal palaces of that day, nor were his experiences just then calculated to correct any hereditary prejudices which he may have entertained; for in 1831 he had been startled by reading in a newspaper at Geneva that his father had been exposed to great peril, the mob breaking into his palace at Bristol, and setting it on fire, and thence proceeding to attack the Cathedral itself. The object of this demonstration was to revenge themselves on the Bishop and the Recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, who, in the Upper and Lower House respectively, had opposed the Reform Bill. The attitude of the brave old Bishop at this crisis seems to show that the chivalrous spirit of the African Metropolitan was hereditary. It was known that the Bishop was the special object of the rioters' vengeance, and the clergy entreated him to forego his intention of preaching in the Cathedral on that particular occasion; but to one remonstrant he replied, 'I am to regard my duty to God and not the fear of men. It shall never be said of me that I turned my back upon religion.' To a Minor Canon, who had suggested the postponement of the service, he said, laying his hand on his shoulder as he spoke, 'My young friend, there are times in which it is necessary not to shrink from danger, our duty is to be at our posts.'

It was then in 1833, as we have already stated, that Robert Gray entered on that ministerial life which lasted through thirty-nine eventful years, and a cursory glance at the condition of the Church at that time should make us grateful for the many things which have since been accomplished. The *Christian Year* had been published in 1827, but although a second edition was called for in the following year,

the influence of that precious book has always been gradual and silent, and it is notorious that for some years it was not felt beyond the limits of a cultivated and devout circle, who were not wholly ignorant of its authorship. The political discontent of the period was hostile to the growth of religion, and at length the pent-up passions of what threatened to be sedition burst their barriers, and it seemed as though both throne and altar would be swept away. Within a few days of Mr. Gray's ordination, Mr. Keble preached in St. Mary's Church the famous sermon which we know, on the authority of Dr. Newman, to have given the start to the Oxford movement of 1833. The first of the 'Tracts for the Times' appeared in the following autumn; in the meanwhile ten Irish bishoprics had been disendowed, and by consequence suppressed; pluralities, and the nepotism which promoted them, were not looked on as scandals; Convocation would have possessed the interest of a curious fossil, had not its very existence been known only to the few who studied constitutional history; the Gorham case had not indeed unsettled the minds of many of our best and noblest, but neither had subsequent study stereotyped the doctrine of Holy Baptism and stamped it on the mind and conscience of the Church. Since those days, to quote the late Sir J. T. Coleridge, 'the rule has become the exception, the exception the rule; the change for the better is great, and to be observed not so much in bright instances here and there as in the general tone of feeling and conduct, in the higher appreciation of what the profession requires of its members and the larger and more distinct acknowledgment of duty.' Mr. Gray was of course too young to have any active share in the great movements that were being organized, and there is nothing to show that he felt any interest in them; indeed it was not until 1839 that he read any of the 'Tracts.'

If we look at our Colonial empire in 1833, we find that a scarcely veiled presbyterianism was the only representative of the Church of England in those regions; the lessons which had been suggested by the defection of the United States had not been learned: in the whole of British North America there were only the two Bishoprics of Nova Scotia and Quebec; in the West Indies the Crown had, in 1824, established the sees of Jamaica and Barbados, but the Bishops were mere functionaries of the State, which provided, and has since withdrawn, their stipends, and which mapped out the island into Rectories and Curacies, filled in like manner by clergy who were stipendiaries of the State; while

the same power which thus maintained the ministers of religion, maintained also in full vigour the traffic in slaves and prohibited the clergy from approaching the negroes until they had obtained the consent of their owners. In the East, Bishop Daniel Wilson, another official of the State, was nominally in spiritual charge, not only of Hindostan, but of Mauritius, Ceylon, New South Wales, New Zealand, and Tasmania. The five Sees, so unsatisfactory as at least three of them were in regard both to their establishment and their maintenance, which constituted the whole of our Colonial episcopate in 1833, had reached the number of sixty when Bishop Gray, who had done so much to uphold the independence and to vindicate the inherent grace of his order, and whose own See had been divided into seven, laid down his crosier and entered into rest in 1872.

In 1834 Mr. Gray, who had been ordained priest, was presented to the living of Whitworth in his native county of Durham, and the death of his father, which occurred soon after his institution, enabled him to enter on his new duties. He was of course wholly without experience; his reading had always been extensive but unsystematic; his diaries, however, bear ample testimony to his devout realization of his responsibilities and his anxiety to fulfil them. He had many difficulties; there was no vicarage house, and he had to live in Durham, several miles distant from his parish; he was among the friends of his family, and this circumstance, combined with his 'bright hearty presence,' threw him much into society. This he frequently laments in his journal—but amid the distractions of 'much dining-out, little time for writing and less for reflection, no time for reflection and less for study,' he was yet carrying on 'an attentive and critical study of the Greek Testament and reading a variety of works of which, strange to say, the only ones which he mentions with delight and enthusiasm are *Henry Martyn's Life*, *Bridge's Christian Ministry*, and *Sumner's Apostolical Preaching*.

It has been stated by those who are well acquainted with the locality that the young Vicar was many years in advance of his clerical brethren in his estimate of ministerial obligations. Be this as it may, it serves rather to show the low condition of the Church generally than to point to any extraordinary level of parochial activity, as judged by our present standards. He found only a Morning Service on Sundays and a congregation of thirty, and after a time he added an Evening Service with unwritten sermon. Ash Wednesday had never been observed until in 1835 he held service and preached to

five persons, having paved the way by a sermon on 'Fasting' on the previous Sunday. He undertook the voluntary charge of Byer's Green, then a hamlet of 300 souls, which have now increased tenfold. Here, by the formation of a Temperance Society for the benefit of the colliery folk, he anticipated by forty years the recent and tardy action of the Church in regard to this difficult question. Such a man was not likely to continue unnoticed, and we find that preferment was offered to him more than once, and after prayerful consideration declined. His marriage to that incomparable lady, who for so many years shared his labours in Africa, bound him to Whitworth, where his wife's dowry had brought to him house and lands, which made him the Squire as well as Vicar of the parish. His work increased and his anxieties kept pace with his work. A large population was 'hovering over his head,' and he was only waiting to see where they would settle down before attempting to carry out a scheme of building six churches or chapels in the neighbourhood. As usual, too, wherever the Church is active, 'Ranters and other Dissenters invaded the parish,' and as an antidote he 'preached on the Ministerial commission, and distributed some of the earlier numbers of the 'Tracts for the Times.'

Nor was his activity limited to his own locality. He undertook in 1840 the local secretaryship of S.P.G., and this no doubt was under Providence the first step which led to his being called to his great work in Africa. In 1845 Bishop Maltby, no incompetent judge of a clergyman's value to his people, pressed on him the living of Stockton-on-Tees. After prayerfully weighing the whole matter, the offer was accepted, and for several reasons, but 'partly from the hope of being of use in Stockton and altering my too secular and expensive mode of living.' The place was in itself unattractive; the church was hideous, and the pews were bought and sold. The people had been accustomed to the old-fashioned slovenliness of worship; added to which, there was a wrench to be endured in leaving Whitworth and its friends and associations; but the trial was borne with cheerfulness; the ugly church was tolerated, and a black gown was purchased, in which 'a very moderate' opening sermon was preached by the new Vicar. Confronted by a large middle-class population, he saw the necessity of giving to the children a sounder education than their fathers had received, and we read of his attempting a middle-class school. The parish responded to its Vicar's zeal. Congregations increased; schools were filled; the laity were prepared to maintain a second curate; but in little

more than a year after his institution, Mr. Gray was offered the more valuable living of Whickham, the Bishop of Durham not only making the offer in the most flattering terms, but adding, a still greater mark of his consideration, that he would desire to consult with him as to his successor. This offer was, however, declined on principle. Mr. Gray thought that to move so soon would not be fair to his people at Stockton; another token of the Bishop's esteem which was offered to him in the same year, an honorary Canonry in Durham Cathedral, was gratefully welcomed and was retained to the end of his life.

But Stockton was not destined long to have him for its Vicar. Early in 1847 he was sounded by Ernest Hawkins as to his readiness to accept a Colonial Bishopric if it were offered to him. The Colonial Bishops Council had been established in 1841, and the sees of New Zealand, Gibraltar, Antigua, Guiana, Tasmania, Fredericton, and Colombo, had been established by its efforts, and now four new sees were about to be founded, and it was intimated to Mr. Gray that he could make his choice between Adelaide and Capetown. His preferences were undoubtedly on the side of remaining at home, and he had many scruples as to his own fitness for a Colonial Bishopric; but his sense of duty to the Church forbade him to do more than say, 'If the Archbishop has before him the names of other men equally qualified for the office, I had rather not be named.' He consulted his own Bishop, who said, 'Stockton can never be so well filled again as it has been by you and your immediate predecessor.' It seemed at one time as though his wish would be gratified, for Capetown was actually offered to another priest, who was unable to leave England, and at last the direct call came from Archbishop Howley, and was recognized as a call that must be obeyed; he would make no choice as to the particular See which he should fill, but placed himself, with characteristic self-abnegation, at the disposal of the Church, 'unconditionally, without qualification or reserve.'

The inevitable worry which is wont to precede consecration and departure from England now pressed upon the Bishop designate and developed that painful tendency to sleeplessness which never left him during the rest of his life. He was overwhelmed with business of all kinds; he took frequent counsel personally and by correspondence with Sir Harry Smith, who, though Governor of the Cape, happened to be in England in 1847, and other old Cape residents. Already he began to experience the encroachment of the State, which



claimed on the strength of the appointment to a Colonial see the patronage of the benefice vacated. 'Things cannot long go on thus between Church and State,' he wrote; 'the reciprocity is all on one side. We find the money for the foundation of a See and pay for a Patent, "waste-paper," as they call it, and "a trap to catch Colonial Bishops in," and they nominate Bishop and his successor and keep a tight hold upon all they can catch.' The Bishop's words about Letters Patent were painfully prophetic, as we shall see by-and-by, but his instincts, always on the side of right, were proved on this occasion to have had the law on their side, when some ten years later, in the famous case of *The Queen v. Eton College*, Lord Campbell refused to the Crown the right of nomination to the living vacated by the present metropolitan of New Zealand, and we may add that no similar claim has since been made.

He was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on S. Peter's day, 1847, with the Bishops of Melbourne, Newcastle, and Adelaide, and in December sailed for Africa. Troubles, however, began before he had left England many days; he had been requested by Bishop Blomfield to confirm at Madeira, and while there to investigate and, if possible, to allay the contentions which existed between two rival congregations. There were two chaplains, one sent by Lord Palmerston on the authority of the Foreign Office, but without the licence of the Bishop; the other, who officiated in a hired room, holding the Bishop's licence. It was not an edifying contention: for even Bishop Blomfield rested his authority over Madeira only on the Order in Council of Charles I., by which all British subjects in foreign parts were declared to be under the authority of the See of London; but to the heated partisans in Madeira it had become a battle between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and Bishop Gray detected that 'the Christianity of the place was with Mr. Lowe (the licensed chaplain) and his friends.' Queen Adelaide was at Madeira at the time, and took a warm interest in Church matters and in the prospects of the Bishop in Africa. She had the ministrations of her own chaplain, and thus was kept at a distance from local squabbles, but her sympathies were with Mr. Lowe, who, we may here add, continued to visit Madeira after he had resigned the chaplaincy until his death. His ministrations were much valued by the invalids who frequent the lovely sanitarium, and it was on his way to the island in 1874 to fulfil what he regarded as a special mission entrusted to him that he lost his life, in the wreck

of the steamer 'Liberia.' The visit to Madeira enabled the young prelate to lay down those simple principles which are the barest A B C of churchmanship, and for which he afterwards and so often bravely struggled. His words are worth recording: 'The Church,' he wrote, 'does not consist in the possession of a material fabric or in a stipend from Government, or in an appointment from Lord Palmerston. These are mere accidental appendages, and can never constitute the Church. There is wanting a faithful body, under a ministry lawfully appointed and sent by those who have authority into the Lord's vineyard.'

On Sunday, Feb. 20, 1848, the Bishop landed at Capetown with his wife and four children, and troubles, the fruit of past neglect, beset him at once. The very advent of a Bishop gave rise to an outburst of bigotry. Hitherto the Bishop of Calcutta had been regarded as Bishop of Africa, and so wholly a nullity had episcopacy ever been that the only administration of confirmation provided for residents at the Cape had been on the occasion of the visit of the Bishop of Tasmania, who stopped there at the request of Archbishop Howley, on his outward voyage in 1842. In the city of Capetown itself there were two churches and two clergymen, both men of pronounced opinions and living three miles away from their churches. The very Cathedral, which was 7,500*l.* in debt, was closed from Sunday to Sunday, with the exception of a Thursday evening lecture badly attended. Lent was unnoticed, and it was not without anxiety that the Bishop commenced daily prayers on Ash Wednesday. Many of the English immigrants had turned Mahometans, and there was the mixed population of Hottentots, Malays, negroes, and others whose heathenism daily confronted him. The most perplexing question was where, with the men and resources at his command, he should commence. The intricacies before him were like the desert paths, which he so often afterwards trod, where the road starts plain and clearly defined, but soon becomes a track which, getting fainter and fainter, is at last crossed by a deep spoor of bullocks, sheep, and men; this the traveller pursues eagerly, but soon it is recrossed by another, and in a few miles it is absorbed in scrub or bush, and the bewildered wanderer has lost his way and must do his best to retrace his steps. But Bishop Gray was never bewildered in the sense of being incapacitated; the vulgar estimate of the great prelate would make him impatient at delay and reckless in regard to temporal things; in reality, he often had to wait and suspend action while men and funds

were lacking, but he was never without plans which were to be adopted when the way was open. Now on his arrival he had Capetown itself, growing rapidly in population and importance, and needing the services of more clergy than the whole colony contained. Five hundred miles away, Grahamstown was becoming the capital of the Eastern Province; Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban, and many other towns of less importance, were dotting the eastern coast-line, 1,200 miles in length, each with its own varied population, and each suggesting a vast interior district dependent on it. To the west there were 'the Bays,' the huge Namaqualand just beginning to attract enterprise and capital to its copper-mines. St. Helena, a long week's voyage distant, and the tiny Tristan d'Acunha, the barren islet with its 130 inhabitants, lying out of the track of ships, 1,200 miles from the nearest land; this the good Bishop visited more than once and supplied with a devoted minister, and at last, when the shallow soil seemed unable any longer to yield its scanty crop, the little colony, with its clergyman, was by the same fatherly solicitude transferred to the mainland. Some few indeed, when the move had to be made, refused to quit their desolate home, and the population has now almost reached its former number of souls; they are once more without any religious privileges, and their neglected condition has attracted the attention of Parliament during the present year.

A few months of eager activity saw matters somewhat settled at Capetown, and the Bishop's family comfortably established at Protea, and the first visitation journey there commenced. It lasted seventeen weeks and a day, and in that time 4,000 miles were traversed; and when his home was reached, he felt as though he 'should never be clear of letters and papers. Every day new questions start up which involve important principles, which I find very difficult to settle, and tremble to handle.' He was not, however, without efficient helps, and we read of Archdeacon Merriman (now Bishop of Grahamstown) setting forth to Algoa Bay to build up the church there, 'his whole soul in his work;' and the names of White, Badnall, Green, Douglas, and others, which have since become familiar in the story of South Africa, already appear in the Bishop's journals and letters. A year had hardly been spent in Africa when the Bishop started for St. Helena, 'realizing that scripture, that they that have wives must be as though they had none;' and while at this the extreme western limit of his diocese, his thoughts were travelling eastwards to Natal, and even beyond the boundaries

of the See to Mauritius, 'while those excellent people, the Gommis, are there,' to the Seychelles, Comoro Islands, and above all, Madagascar, which is a most interesting field, and will ere long be opened out again. It is, we think, no mean testimony to the Bishop's foresight and zeal that, amid all the cares which confronted him daily in his own diocese, he should have thought of the needs of this island at least twelve years before it was open to Europeans, and it is humiliating to add that it cost ten years more of persistent effort to overcome the faithless timidity which hindered the establishment of a bishopric at Antananarivo. We find, indeed, that Madagascar was constantly before his mind; even when in 1864 he was in the thick of the Colenso controversy, he wrote to Mr. Keble of the necessity of sending a Bishop thither without delay, as the times of persecution were ended and the land was open.

Another visitation tour of 2,000 miles, made principally on horseback, completed the second year of residence in Africa, and now the Bishop determined to commence missions among the heathen. Umhalla's country was the first to be occupied; this was known as British Kaffraria, but a still larger country, Independent Kaffraria, which has since been adopted by the Scottish Church as its own field, and for which Bishop Callaway was consecrated by the Scotch Bishops in 1873, was also occupied by the Bishop about this time. At Easter, in this year, he set out on that famous visitation, without a parallel, so far as we know, in modern missionary work, which occupied nine months of incessant and exhausting travel. The weary Karroo had to be crossed before Bloemfontein, the northern limit of the journey, was reached. He lived to see this place the seat of a Bishop of the Free State, who has since pushed the frontiers of the Church far to the north in the Transvaal country. Thence his route lay towards Natal, where the prospects seemed so fair that he wished to 'get Archdeacon Grant or some very able man for Capetown, and the Archdeacon for Grahamstown, and me to go to mission work at Natal.' 'This diocese *must* be divided,' and 'Convocation *must* meet,' were the two propositions on which he insisted at this time. The Bishop contributed much towards accomplishing both of these objects. A 'solemn declaration from the Bishop and Clergy of Capetown' was in this year sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, repudiating the recently established 'Supreme Court of Appeal,' and praying that Convocation might meet. 'If it does not soon speak, the Church will merge in the State, and the heterogeneous

elements, of which the British Government is composed, will become a new form of Antichrist.'

The subdivision of the diocese and other matters called for his presence in England, and in 1852 he returned to this country, paying a visit to St. Helena by the way. Before taking leave of his clergy, now forty-two in number, he laid before them his plans for the organization of the Church; next to the subdivision of his diocese, the establishment of a Synod was insisted on. It is well known that of the two great legal cases which disturbed his episcopate, one, the Long case, had its origin in the opposition that was offered to synodical action; it was objected that the Bishop aimed at establishing a clerical autocracy, but nothing could be more unfounded, for, just as, when he urged the restoration of Convocation as the remedy for Church difficulties at home, he insisted on its reforming its constitution, and 'that the approval of the laity should be requisite to give the authority of the Church to any of its enactments, except on matters of faith,' so in his pastoral letter of 1851 the Bishop wrote: 'It is not in accordance with the principles of our branch of the Church, or of the primitive and Apostolic Church, that the Bishop should by his sole authority settle all questions which may arise, and conduct the affairs of the Church through all their details. The presbyters, the deacons, and the laity of the Church have each their separate functions, responsibilities, privileges, which are at present in much danger of being overlooked.'

The time spent in England was a very busy one, and the burden of work was made heavier by ill-health, which at one time was so serious, that Mrs. Gray hastened home from the Cape to nurse her husband. On S. Andrew's day, 1853, the great object of his visit was accomplished, and Bishops Armstrong and Colenso were consecrated for Grahamstown and Natal respectively. To secure this subdivision Bishop Gray resigned on November 23, *not his Letters Patent*, as has frequently been stated, *but his See*, and on December 8 he received, *not new*, but *additional*, Letters Patent, constituting Capetown the Metropolitan See of South Africa. Bishop Gray had never entertained any exalted opinion of the value of these documents, and on several grounds he suspected the legality of the compact now made between himself and his suffragans. His scruples were politely but firmly set aside by the Attorney-General, whose handiwork the precious Letters were, and when at a subsequent period their legality was tested, the same eminent authority, then filling the office

of Lord Chancellor, with airy insouciance, gave the death-blow to his own creations, and declared them 'null and void in law.' But these troubles had not yet descended, and immediately after the consecration the Metropolitan returned to Africa, and for some years we have nothing but records of growing work.

This great advance on the conception of the founders of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund was largely the work of Bishop Gray. The good men, who in 1841 determined to rescue the Colonial Churches from the presbyterianism in which they were fast bound, had not risen to the idea of provincial organization. To 'get a Bishopric endowed' seemed to them to be an excellent thing, as indeed it was, but the vision of autonomous Churches and Provinces, grouped around the latent Patriarchate of Canterbury, had never been revealed to them. The only Metropolitan See beyond the limits of the United Kingdom was that of Calcutta, and was, as it continues to be, as ecclesiastically abnormal as the creation of a mere Act of Parliament is likely to be. They were content, therefore, to multiply suffragans of Canterbury, each prelate being independent of his brethren, as the necessities of the Colonies demanded, and as their resources enabled them. The right of Synodal action, whether Provincial or Diocesan, was unknown both at home and abroad thirty years ago, and its recovery is one of the many good things which have been won for us by faithful men whose struggles have made posterity their debtors. The present generation has seen the birth of ecclesiastical provinces in Africa, in North America, in Australia, and in New Zealand. The only regions in which this liberty has not been acquired are those in which the Church is, or has been, subsidized by the State, and has been content, or compelled, to forego her freedom in return for the countenance of the civil power.

In 1856 the Bishop was thinking of a Bishopric to be established in the Orange Free State, 'formerly part of my diocese, now under nobody's charge,' and this was accomplished in 1863. In the same year we meet with a hint of coming troubles in Natal. 'The Bishop of Natal has got into great trouble,' he wrote to Dr. Williamson. 'People will not submit even to a Bishop's *ipse-dixit*. He has startled people by the rapidity of his conclusions. . . . They ask what next? If he will only learn caution and deliberation . . . his fine, generous, bold and noble character will triumph over all difficulties.' It is worthy of note that it is the Metropolitan Bishop Gray who laments the autocratic action of Bishop



Colenso. The popular notion of the two men is, we imagine, quite the opposite of this.

Pressure of work in Africa, which surrounded him like the atmosphere, never lessened his intense interest in the Church at home, and at this time (1857) he wrote to Bishop Wilberforce: 'I am looking anxiously for the appointments to London and Durham. The Metropolitan City is the field for you. I will not believe, till I know the contrary, that even Palmerston will not ask you to occupy a post which there is, perhaps, not another Bishop on the bench who could adequately fill.' Had the Bishop's expectations been realized, who can attempt to estimate the good effect of such an appointment on the whole Anglican communion?

In 1857 the Synod, whose establishment was desiderated in 1851, was assembled for the first time. Opposition arose from several quarters, principally on the part of some Government officials, who saw in it a disparagement of their idol, the Royal supremacy. They were worsted in law and in argument, and took refuge in offensive vituperation, for which apologies had to be made. The effect, however, was that five parishes refused to send delegates, and the clergyman of one of these parishes, the Rev. J. Long, refused either to publish the Bishop's summons to the parish to elect a delegate, or to attend the Synod himself. We here meet for the first time with the cuckoo cry, which was repeated *ad nauseam* in the Colenso case, of 'the Church of England in South Africa.' It was useless to plead that on geographical as well as ecclesiastical grounds no such a Church could exist, and that Lord Campbell in *The Queen v. Eton College* had refused to recognize such a title; and we can quite understand how, amid a Colonial population, history, law, and geography were ignored, and the contumacy of the clergyman was applauded 'as a struggle for civil and religious liberties.' We need say no more about this case than that in 1861 Mr. Long, who had repeated his contumacious conduct, was suspended for three months, but, in consideration of his family, he was allowed the whole of his stipend during his suspension—an amount of lenity which we apprehend is not met with in secular courts. Against this sentence Mr. Long appealed to the Supreme Court of the Colony, where the Bishop had to defend himself, the only alternative being to employ a Jew as his advocate, and after much delay his sentence was confirmed. An appeal was then carried to the Privy Council, with what result every one knows. The judgment of the Cape tribunal was reversed, and the decision was based on the invalidity of the Letters

Patent. The Court expressly refrained from dealing with Mr. Long's obligations '*in foro conscientiae*.' The Bishop was saddled with the costs, but as the Court stated, truly enough, that he had been 'involved in the difficulties by which he has been embarrassed by the doubtful state of the law,' the Treasury, acting on a suggestion of the Judicial Committee, contributed the insignificant sum of 285*l.* 5*s.* towards the Bishop's expenses, which amounted to 1,600*l.*

In 1858 Bishop Gray was again in England: if ever a Colonial Bishop did good by visiting this country, it was Bishop Gray. Such sojourns were to him seasons of incessant work; on his first visit he had obtained two suffragans: he now obtained a third by the establishment of the See of St. Helena; but in one sense these Sees were always his: he was not a titular Metropolitan only; nothing which touched these young Churches or affected either their spiritual or material interests, was foreign to him. On June 14, 1859, he assisted at the consecration of the Bishops of Bangor, Brisbane, and St. Helena, 'the oaths correctly taken to Canterbury, Sydney, and Capetown.' This is worthy of notice, inasmuch as of late a policy of ultra-centralization has prevailed at Lambeth, and, where not resisted, has confounded jurisdiction and thrown the relations of Colonial Metropolitans and their suffragans into simple chaos. We should be afraid to say how many Australian Bishops have sworn obedience to Canterbury instead of to Sydney: several of the Canadian Bishops have been guilty of the same anomaly, and we know of one South African prelate who took at his consecration the oath of obedience to the Northern Primate! Such a hyper-papal system may suffice, or at least may inflict no serious grievance so long as a Church is content to be the mere appanage of the Civil Power; but as soon as, whether voluntarily or otherwise, it is thrown on its own resources, it must either assert its independent life and group with the Churches with which it has an obvious affinity or perish.

Beyond securing a Bishop for St. Helena, the enthusiasm of Bishop Gray accomplished what Livingstone with all the interest which he excited had failed to do; it was his presence which gave the needful impetus to the proposed Universities' mission to Central Africa, and made Mackenzie the first Missionary Bishop of our Church. But it was notwithstanding many struggles that this apparently simple result was gained. The Bishop in 1861 thus recounted his experiences:—

'When I first asserted the right of the Church to consecrate a Bishop for the heathen in my Cathedral Church, Earl Carnarvon told

me that my claim, which I requested might be submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown, came as a thunderbolt upon them. The case was, however submitted, and considered, and I was informed that the claim was admitted. But at that time it was not believed that the Bishops at home could do such a thing—the idea was scouted. Nothing daunted, however, the Bishops submitted a case to the present Lord Chancellor, this same Sir R. Bethell, the Queen's Advocate, and the present Attorney-General, and they all pronounced that the English Bishops could do the same, but very amusingly cautioned them against the exercise of so novel and unusual a power !'

Subsequently the Foreign Office 'was in a flutter' about issuing a licence without defining the limits of the Central African diocese, and the Law Officers were again taken seriously into consultation on the momentous question. Well might Bishop Gray ask, 'Shall I name the Mountains of the Moon !' With justifiable indignation might he exclaim, 'How the world will laugh at those absurd restrictions in the next generation !'

The opposition to this attempt on the part of the English Church to vindicate, after centuries of, first Roman, and then Erastian usurpation, her indefeasible right to carry the Gospel to heathen lands, was not limited to lawyers and politicians. Bishop Gray wrote, on 'February 4, 1859: Meeting of Colonial Bishops Council ; full attendance: Bishop of London very vehement against Missionary Bishops : says it is unscriptural and contrary to the practice of the Church to begin new missions with Bishops at the head of them.' These statements were repeated by that right reverend prelate in Convocation, and fresh objections were started. The proposal that the Metropolitan of South Africa and his suffragans should consecrate a Missionary Bishop 'seriously changed the universal practice of the Church of England, viz. that the Queen shall, in virtue of her supremacy, nominate all Bishops of the Church of England, either in the Colonies or at home.' 'To dispense with the Royal mandate was as grave a thing' in the eyes of Bishop Tait 'as to dispense with subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and to consecrate a Bishop for the Orange Free State would place the consecrating prelates in the position of the Pope when he sent Bishops to this country against the will of the people.' Bishop Tait further declared that he did not see that there would be any difference 'between three of our Bishops consecrating Bishops for the Orange territory and consecrating Bishops for Prussia and Switzerland *where the episcopal system did not exist.*' This was in 1859 : hardly more than half a generation has since

passed, and surely the world has already justified Bishop Gray's exclamation in regard to such proposed restrictions. We mention these events to show how many and serious were the hindrances to the Church winning her independence, and how impossible it was, and is, to some men to realize the fact that the Church abroad can never be governed by narrow restrictions of Acts of Parliament, which contemplate a wholly different condition of things, and which the very lawyers themselves pronounce to have no force in countries which have achieved a political independence.

To Bishop Wilberforce we are indebted for the successful termination of this struggle ; but it was the Bishop of Capetown who originated the scheme, and never rested until it was carried out. Bishop Mackenzie was consecrated at Capetown on the festival of the Circumcision in 1861, and went immediately to the scene of his brief episcopate ; the first public act of Archbishop Longley in 1863 was to consecrate his successor, and at the same time the first Bishop of the Free State, both of whom took the oath of allegiance to the Metropolitan of South Africa. Altogether, during the primacies of Archbishops Sumner and Longley, eight Bishops were consecrated in England for Africa, all of whom took the oath to Capetown ; it was not, therefore, without reason that, no change having in the meantime been made in the law, Bishop Gray complained of having to travel to Inverness to consecrate Bishop Webb, and that another African Bishop should, as we mentioned before, have been compelled to acknowledge the Archbishop of York as his metropolitan.

In August, 1859, the Bishop returned to Africa ; his stay in England had been full of anxieties, which were shared and cordially lightened by the firm friendship of Bishop Wilberforce : 'the two friends who had shared, and were yet to share, so many burdens on behalf of the Church, their mother, knelt in prayer together, and for each other, before separating.'

In 1862 the Bishop was again driven to England in consequence of the death of Bishop Mackenzie ; the visit was a brief one, but it sufficed to secure a successor to the saintly man whose body was resting under the cross, planted by the hand of Livingstone, on the banks of the African river. The opinion of the great traveller of the great Bishop may fitly find a place here. In the story of his second expedition (p. 405) we meet with the following passage :—

'As soon as the death of Bishop Mackenzie was known at the Cape, Dr. Gray, the excellent Bishop there, proceeded at once to

England, with a view of securing an early appointment of another head to the mission, which in its origin owed so much to his zeal for the spread of the Gospel among the heathen, and whose interest he had continually at heart. The Bishop had taken a voyage home at considerable inconvenience to himself for the sole object of promoting this mission to the heathen, and it was somehow expected that the man he would secure would be an image of himself, and we must say that whatever others, from the representations that have gone abroad, may think of his character, we invariably found Dr. Gray to be a true, warm-hearted promoter of the welfare of his fellow-men, and one whose courage and zeal have provoked many to good works.

Such was the testimony of the Congregationalist Livingstone, of whom the Bishop was wont to speak as a 'noble fellow,' and, indeed, it is strange that while the great prelate met with so much misrepresentation at the hands of churchmen and the English press, the Moravians, Wesleyans, Free-Kirkites, and the French Protestant missionaries esteemed him highly, and in several instances sought his advice in their work.

But the chief sorrow of his episcopate was now beginning to descend on the Bishop of Capetown. Through all the troubles of the Long case, Bishop Gray had not allowed litigation to divert him from the prosecution of that missionary work which was ever so dear to his heart; the Kafir Institution was often a prominent topic in his letters and diaries; the necessity of an English College and an Orphans' Home he was now urging on the Church; these he lived to found and to rejoice over their vigour and usefulness; he was also in frequent counsel with Sir George Grey in reference to a proposed confederation of the several South African provinces which it has been reserved to the present Government to put into legal shape; he seems to have allowed nothing to escape him which could tend to the benefit of his adopted country; but as early as 1858 he had been disturbed by the views of the Bishop of Natal: in 1860 he wrote: 'Natal is a very wilful, headstrong man, and loose, I fear, in his opinions upon vital points. We shall have to fight for Revelation, Inspiration, the Atonement, and every great truth of Christianity ere long.' In the following year he wrote: 'It is curious and painful to see how the reaction of his mind from the utter Calvinism in which he was brought up, is driving him to the contemplation of God solely as love, into opinions which seem to me to undermine the whole Gospel scheme.' Nevertheless, up to the period of Bishop Colenso's return to England, in 1862, to publish the first part of his work on the Pentateuch, not only had there been no estrangement, but the two Bishops 'had been as brothers.'

The popular belief is that the Metropolitan was eager to use the authority which he conceived himself to possess, and that a more conciliatory attitude might possibly have arrested the suffragan in his wild speculations. The biography shows most conclusively that nothing could have been more exemplary than the patience and forbearance of Bishop Gray. The clergy in Natal had suffered from their Bishop's action and teaching before the rest of the world suspected his orthodoxy, and on several important points had looked for counsel to Bishop Gray both as Metropolitan and as the founder of the whole South African Church. On one occasion, although pained by the language complained of, yet believing that it might be construed in harmony with the Church's formularies, he urged the clergy to give due obedience to their Bishop, and 'in my efforts to promote peace,' he wrote, 'I know that I made the hearts of faithful men sad.'

In 1861 Dr. Colenso had published his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans; an early copy was sent to Bishop Gray, who wrote to the author 'praying him to keep it back and to consult his friends.' When it became known, and the Archdeacon of Natal protested against the teaching of the work, Bishop Gray, still shrinking from taking any personal or active part in the controversy, sent a copy of the book to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting him to consult with the English Bishops and to give him advice as to what he should do. Even this was not done without communication with Bishop Colenso, who 'quite approved of the letter to the Archbishop, of which I sent him a copy, and says that he knows that I shall always show the utmost kindness that my sense of duty will admit. Poor dear fellow!' the Bishop adds, 'I feel deeply grieved about him.'

Archbishop Sumner wrote 'a very touching letter, full of kindness and sympathy,' and early in 1862 the English Bishops met to consider the suspected volume, which they declared to be unsound: in consideration of the possibility of the two Primates being called on to give a judicial utterance on the subject, it was not thought right that they should commit themselves to any public judgment beforehand: but the Archbishop wrote (and the fact must not be lost sight of, as it shows how in this and in many other ways the popular opinion is unsupported by history): 'I am greatly struck by the mildness and conciliatory spirit which you have united with the firmness and decision exhibited in the whole of your distressing correspondence with the Bishop of Natal.'

At this time, as has been already mentioned, Bishop Gray



was suddenly driven to England to find a successor to Mackenzie; he was followed in the next steamer by the Bishop of Natal, who remained in this country until 1865. The first part of the work on the Pentateuch was published soon after the author landed in England, and again Bishop Gray wrote an affectionate appeal to the Bishop of Natal to stay his hand, and to take counsel with friends. The second part was issued in January 1863: in this the Bishops and clergy were practically accused of hypocrisy and falsehood in the exercise of their ministry, especially in the office of Holy Baptism, and they were invited, 'as the only remedy, to omit such words, to disobey the law of the Church, and to take the consequences.' It was evident that things could not go on quietly any longer. The Bishops and Convocation were appealed to, and it was a crisis in which, as Bishop Phillpotts said, 'the Bishops *could not* give an answer evading responsibility. The case was one of singular notoriety, of vast scandal, of universal reprobation.' The immediate cause of the Bishops assembling as they did on February 4, 1863, in large numbers, was the formal appeal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to the Primate as its President. It is the custom of that Society to elect all its officers annually in the month of February; the Bishop of Natal was a Vice-President, and entrusted with the administration of large funds for the benefit of his diocese. Archbishop Sumner had died in the autumn of 1862, and Archbishop Longley, whose whole conduct in regard to the troubles of the South African Church was in perfect accord with his noble and beautiful character, summoned not only all the English, but as many of the Irish and Colonial prelates as were within reach. At this distance of time, it is strange to read that the question was actually put, 'Shall any advice be given to the Society?' but the Bishop of Natal seems to have had friends among the assembled prelates who did him more service than any professional advocate could have rendered to him. Every obstruction that was possible was offered to any decision at all, and this appears the more extraordinary when all the Bishops were unanimous in thinking Bishop Colenso's position untenable; the late Bishop Thirlwall declared it to be 'utterly untenable;' Bishop Tait said, 'There was not the slightest difference of opinion in that body as to the Bishop's teaching. They had no confidence in that teaching. . . . If he heard that Bishop Colenso was going to officiate in his diocese, he should stop him.' The result of this day's discussion was that the S. P. G. was advised 'to withhold its confidence from the Bishop of Natal until he has

been cleared from the charges notoriously incurred by him, and that by twenty-five to four the Bishops agreed, 'under a great scandal, to inhibit the Bishop of Natal from ministering in their dioceses. But Bishop Gray was still without the counsel which he had sought, and the Bishops assembled again on February 7. The question of his own legal position and authority was at that very moment under discussion before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council: he had at least a moral right to the advice and sympathy of his brethren, and he was now advised that until the sale of the suspected books in the diocese of Capetown was proved, he could take no steps.

It cannot, however, be said that in his subsequent action he was without the advice of the English episcopate, for we read that the Bishop of London said with warmth, 'The Bishop of Natal is within the Bishop of Capetown's jurisdiction,' and at another period of the debate Bishop Tait asked 'why the Bishop of Capetown had not before this proceeded against the Bishop of Natal? and why he was not doing so now?' After an argument which at one time waxed so hot that the aged Bishop of St. Asaph, as the oldest prelate present with the exception of the Bishop of Chichester, invited Bishop Gilbert to join with him in proposing 'that they should fall to prayer' before another word was spoken, a declaration was agreed upon, the Bishop of St. David's being the only dissident; in this document forty prelates called on Bishop Colenso to resign his position, which he could no longer fill. Immediately after this conference, the Southern Convocation met, and the Lower House condemned Bishop Colenso's book, and in the Upper House it was relegated to a committee to report on it, the Bishop of St. David's counselling delay, 'as it will be impossible for him [*i.e.* the author] to retrieve his position and office in the Church.' The committee reported strongly against the book, but contented itself with warning the faithful against it, as it would shortly become matter for the decision of an ecclesiastical tribunal. Meanwhile Bishop Gray had gone back to Africa only to find the clergy sorely straitened for money, and in Natal the Church bitterly divided and distressed. As Metropolitan he felt that he had 'no alternative but to go on with the case.' He had consulted the English Bishops, and even the one who before all others had shown least sympathy with him, had reproached him for not bringing his suffragan to account within the limits of his province. But he had other and nobler motives; to his brother he wrote, 'If any one is to

suffer for Natal, I ought to do so. I was a main instrument in bringing him out here, trusting too implicitly to the judgment of others.' He accordingly summoned the Bishop of Natal to appear in November and in the most delicate way offered him the loan of his own house at Kalk Bay during the trial. The intervening three months he spent in a laborious visitation abounding with unpleasant incidents. In writing to his son the Bishop gives the following details of a single night's adventures :—

'After going sixty miles with one of the horses tired out, we arrived at a farm, which we found deserted, only a Hottentot woman there. She let us in, but there was no food but what we brought, and your mother slept on a short table and I on a chair without a bottom, and the mud floor in alternate changes. There was a hen and chicken in the room, and we had had nothing all day but some sweet cake and a piece of brown bread which we asked for at the place where we slept before. We had nothing to wash in but a pie-dish, and by two o'clock, the next day when we got to Beaufort, the state of our commissariat was not pleasant.'

No personal hardships ever succeeded in checking the ardent faith or in quelling the Christian courage of that great Bishop. In a letter written about the same time as that from which we made the last quotation, he charged his son, 'Do what you believe to be right and cling to the right, let who will gainsay.' This was the maxim of his own life and he wished to deliver it to those who should come after him.

The trial took place and the result we know. The duty of exposing the errors of a Bishop who 'renounced his belief, but not his position,' who 'abandoned the Bible and Prayer-Book, of which his office made him guardian, and yet retained that office,' brought into prominence one who has since done noble service to the Church and has raised the work of Missions in India to an altogether higher level—the late Bishop of Bombay. The 'Long' judgment had so complicated matters that 'Bishops and clergy were at sea, as to action,' but there was no sign of faltering on the part of the Metropolitan. 'If civil courts interfere and send Colenso back, God helping, I will excommunicate, and, if my brethren will join, will, if the Church at home is afraid to do so, consecrate an orthodox Bishop.' This was written in 1863, after the sentence was pronounced, which was, however, not to take effect for four months. It was cordially approved by Dissenters, especially by Dr. Duff, the eminent Free-Kirk minister, who had come to the Cape from his labours in India for the restoration of his health, and who wrote an enthusiastic

letter to the Bishop of Capetown. An appeal was carried to the Privy Council, at which the Metropolitan appeared by counsel, but under protest and only in deference to the advice of his friends; meanwhile the laity in the Synod of Capetown thanked their Bishop for his action in regard to the Bishop of Natal. The time of waiting for the judgment of the Privy Council was spent in missionary tours, and when the long-expected pronouncement came, it was found that the same man who in 1853 as Attorney-General, not without remonstrance from non-legal minds who suspected a flaw, insisted on drawing up Letters Patent for the three South African Sees, now as Lord Chancellor was ready to destroy his own creations, and ruled that the Letters Patent were valueless in law, and that practically there was no See either of Capetown or Natal, and consequently that there were no Bishops of those countries! The judgment did indeed involve two propositions by no means compatible the one with the other—first, that the relations between the two Sees were only the result of a voluntary compact without legal force, and, secondly, that the Crown can yet interfere and take cognizance of such voluntary jurisdiction, and, if it choose, can annul it; to say nothing of the fact that the Church had paid at least 10,000*l.* for Letters Patent for various Sees, which were now pronounced by the very authority which issued them to be valueless. Both in Africa and in England the unhappy judgment won much sympathy for the Metropolitan; but it was not 'personal kindness' that he desired. 'I want the Church at home to speak out and say she has communion with us,' he wrote in 1865, and in the same year the Convocation of Canterbury expressed the sympathy of both Houses, not without persevering opposition on the part of the Dean of Westminster.

In November 1865, Bishop Colenso returned to Natal, after an absence of nearly four years, and in the following month, but not until he had made a last and most pathetic appeal, the Metropolitan acted on the unanimous resolution of the Provincial Synod and declared him to be separated from the Communion of the Church. The Synods of America and of Canada approved of the sentence, and ultimately the Convocation of Canterbury declared 'the Church of England to be in full communion with the Bishop of Capetown and with those Bishops who lately with him in Synod declared Bishop Colenso to be *ipso facto* excommunicated.' We know of no more humiliating reading than the debates of Convocation on this subject in 1866; it seemed as though the supreme

object of language was to 'mean nothing:' more than one Bishop, sympathizing with the orthodox side, proposed skilfully drafted amendments and commended them to the Upper House, 'because it commits us to nothing;' and in striking and noble contrast to this, Bishop Wilberforce challenged his brethren [can we not many of us recall the very tones in which the solemn words would fall from his lips?] 'to incur the evanescent danger of speaking out for the greatest truths the Church of Christ ever held.'

In 1867 the Lambeth Conference was summoned, and Bishop Gray had not been idle in providing for the vacant See. It was intended by those to whom the idea of the gathering owed its existence, to put forth such a declaration by the assembled Anglican episcopate as should purge the Church of any heresy which it might have contracted, and also to provide a tribunal acknowledged as binding on all hands, by which any questions of heterodoxy should hereafter be settled. The deposed Bishop received no invitation to the Conference, but great was the surprise—and, indeed, it demands a stronger word adequately to express the feeling—when Bishops, who had come from the antipodes to deliver their souls on the one prominent topic, found that Archbishop Longley had given a pledge to the Bishops of London and St. David's, that the position of Dr. Colenso should not be discussed. The proceedings of that august assembly were conducted with closed doors, but even then the Church was not wholly ignorant of the general purport of its discussions; and the whole story is revealed by the volumes before us. Bishops from the United States, from Canada, from New Zealand, refused to be prohibited from approaching the subject on which they felt most intensely, and there was reason to believe that had he not been unwilling to oppose the Archbishop, 'so meek, so kind, and fair,' who had ever sympathized with him, Bishop Gray might have carried a resolution affirming all that he desired; as it was, fifty-five Bishops signed a declaration accepting the spiritual validity of the sentence of deposition. There can be no doubt that in consenting to 'taboo' this crucial question Archbishop Longley made the one capital mistake of his primacy, which in so many respects was a beneficent one. It will, we trust, act as a warning to those who are concerned with the next Lambeth Conference. Such an assembly will be found less docile than the Lower House of Convocation shows itself under similar treatment: American and Colonial Bishops, when they occupy the equal seats of the common Episcopate in numbers far exceeding the

English prelates, will not consent a second time to have their agenda paper prepared for them, and to be debarred from introducing the very topics on which they feel most deeply.

Bishop Gray's energies were now directed to the finding an orthodox Bishop, and the Archbishop consented to Mr. Macrorie being consecrated in his province, and if necessary in his diocese. The present Dean of Chichester offered St. Mary's, Oxford, for the consecration; as an alternative, Scotland had been proposed, but Bishop Tait wrote 'a long and grave letter' to the Primus, remonstrating against it. *The Times* and other papers were violent in their utterances, and

'on January 22, the Bishop of Capetown received a letter in Norfolk Square, from the Bishop of London, which was in *The Times*, with a leader to back it up, before the Metropolitan received it.'

These are the words of the biographer. The following are the Bishop's own:—

'January 24—Late in the evening a messenger left a letter at my door from the Archbishop of York, remonstrating as to the consecration.

'January 25—The Archbishop of York's letter appeared in the *Times* this morning, with an article in support of it. Very meanly and uncourtously do these great prelates treat a brother in thus sending their agitating letters to the public press before they send them to him.'

And we think the majority of Christian people will agree with the Bishop's last sentence.

Archbishop Longley was still desirous that the consecration should take place in this country, and before starting for the Continent, wrote to his Vicar-General strongly expressing such a wish. The Colonial Secretary also led Bishop Gray to believe that there would be no difficulties suggested by the Government; indeed, he had invited the Archbishop to apply for a Royal licence to consecrate. That nobleman, the Duke of Buckingham, had already given the Metropolitan trouble by an ill-advised despatch which he had sent to Natal, and which was interpreted by the Colonial authorities as 'conveying a warning to all civilians in the Government employ to take no part in the consecration [of Mr. Macrorie], and give no countenance to it, under pain of the displeasure of her Majesty's Government. The Earl of Carnarvon had called attention to this in the House of Lords, and the Colonial Secretary expressed his regret at what had happened, and stated that he had written a second despatch which he had endeavoured to make more acceptable.' There were reasons, therefore, for thinking that



the Colonial Office was willing to make some further amends to the Metropolitan, but when Parliament rose and no more questions could be asked, the Duke of Buckingham took no notice of the Bishop's letters, and in October Bishop Gray was again on his way to Africa, having summoned his suffragans to Capetown, and having fixed the Conversion of S. Paul for the consecration of the Orthodox Bishop. Within a few days of his leaving Plymouth, Archbishop Longley was taken to his rest, 'to the infinite loss of the Church, which, if his gentle hands sometimes failed to guide with unerring firmness and decision, he at least ruled in the loving spirit of an apostle, and with staunch fidelity to her ancient creeds and faith.'

On this occasion the Bishop took with him eight ladies, the nucleus of a sisterhood which he had long desired to establish. This was felt to be a substantial and valuable addition to the diocesan staff; and we may here add that he never saw reason to regret the acceptance of their services, and in his last moments his chief anxiety was 'lest his successor should not sympathize with the work of the sisters as he had done and as they deserved.' This anxiety, we are thankful to know, has turned out to have been groundless.

We have given much space to the unhappy Colenso controversy, which indeed occupies a large portion of the volumes before us. It could not be otherwise, but we trust we have shown that the litigation, which was forced upon the Bishop, was accepted by him only when it became inevitable, and that incessant and wearying as were the calls made upon him by these suits, they never diverted his mind from the missionary work which was so dear to him. With the consecration of Bishop Macrorie happily consummated on the Conversion of S. Paul, 1869, the Bishop naturally looked for more peaceful times, in which to build up the Church undisturbed; he made a visitation of ten weeks' duration, and found the country dispirited by successive droughts and famines. At this time he expressed his wish to have a brotherhood who should be in some way connected with the Kafir College, and who should work among the Mahometans, and he returned to his home to find letters awaiting him in large abundance. The news from Natal was cheering; he was annoyed by having to give up to the Letters Patent Bishop property which he had purchased with his own moneys, but in spiritual things 'matters were going so smoothly,' wrote Bishop Macrorie, 'that it made him tremble.' In a letter to a near relative the Bishop wrote :

'The world said, "Consecrate and you will add immensely to the evils which now afflict Natal; there will be a vast increase of bitterness, and controversy will be intensified." The facts are, that up to the period of the Bishop going there, all the papers were full of violent letters, and now there seems a perfect lull. It is, I believe, an answer to prayer and the reward of faithfulness.'

In 1870 the Bishop was again in England for a few weeks. Mrs. Gray, who had for so many years been his true help-mate, sharing his laborious visitations and relieving him in all that a woman could do, and in many ways that few women could hope to be of service, of the full weight of his duties, was now suffering from severe illness, and it was represented to her as a duty that she should seek medical advice in England. As soon as she knew that her malady was incurable she returned to Africa to die, and in April 1871, was buried in Claremont Cemetery, under the shadow of the Church of which she had been the architect and in which she was always interested.

'I try to go on with my usual work and to be cheerful,' the Bishop wrote soon after his bereavement, and indeed the virtue of resignation seems to have been his in large measure; there was no slackening of energy in his work, however saddened may have been his spirit; he looked forward to spending the rest of his life in purely spiritual work, now that controversies were at an end, and he was cheered by the fact that the Dutch Church, the greatest religious body in the country, was considering terms of union. But it was not for long that the capacity for work was continued. In the autumn of 1871 he started on a visitation tour in Namaqualand; he had suffered from lumbago, which he 'trusted the visitation would put to rights:' the journey was full of misadventures, some of them of a serious kind, and after struggling with symptoms of real illness, the Bishop was unable to proceed further, and was nursed by kind English people at Port Nolloth. To return by land was impossible in the Bishop's exhausted state, and a small coasting vessel, to the discomforts of which he was a prey for seven days and nights, landed him much weakened at Capetown. He was able to get to Grahamstown in November, to consecrate his old friend Bishop Merriman in succession to Bishop Cotterill. At last he had triumphed over all obstacles in the way of Letters Patent or Royal Mandate,<sup>1</sup> and was already contemplating yet another

<sup>1</sup> It appears that certain persons in Natal wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to ask him if Bishop Merriman's consecration, without a Queen's Licence, was not incorrect; and his Grace replied, not very defi-

visitation tour, which commenced in March 1872. Everywhere there were encouraging signs, but the tour was especially painful as it lay through a country in which Mrs. Gray had much delighted, and on the anniversary of her death the Bishop was confirming in the little wooden church at Plettenburg Bay. In July, however, the symptoms from which he had suffered in the previous year returned. A fall from his horse shook him severely, and on August 13 he held a confirmation at St. George's, very weak and ill. It was his last public ministration. He returned to his home, and gradually growing weaker and weaker, sank to rest, in his own words of humble hope, 'at the feet of my dear Lord for ever.'

It is pleasant to think that after so much wearying legislation the last years of the good Bishop's life were by comparison peaceful, and that he had been able to give his whole mind to the spiritual work to which all along he had been devoted. Repeatedly in his correspondence we find regrets that he was 'only serving tables,' 'a mere letter-writing machine,' that he had 'no time to write sermons as I ought, or to read theology, and first of all in this line, my Bible:' now he could, and did, find time for the study which he loved; the only disturbing element which interfered with his peace at this time was the attack made in England on the Athanasian Creed, the echoes of which controversy reached to Africa. He wrote, only four months before his decease, to his old correspondent Bishop Wilberforce:

'The Church of England can, of course, throw over creeds, if she will, and relegate them to a great theological lumber-room; but if she wants to continue the Mother of Churches, and to retain the love and allegiance of those she has founded, she must not do so. The creeds are our common property and inheritance, and they must not be set aside, except by the Churches of our communion in common council, if the union of Churches is to be maintained. I firmly believe that if this movement, fostered by both Archbishops, succeeds, it will go far to break up our Churches.'

In his own diocese a proposal to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister led to his writing a careful sermon on the subject: he felt it also his duty to prepare a sermon on

nitely, but intimating that it was wrong to have proceeded without it; upon which encouragement the enemies of the Church began to talk of legal proceedings. The Metropolitan wrote to Bishop Wilberforce on this subject. 'I told him (*i.e.* the Archbishop) plainly that he had no more right to interfere with the internal affairs of this province than in those of York, and that we did not look to an Archbishop of Canterbury to sow dissensions amongst us.'

what he called 'the sin' of Mariolatry; he dreaded the apparently growing tendency of devotional books to coquet with the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin. These sermons he never lived to preach, and, together with all his unpublished sermons, they were burned by his executors in compliance with the terms of his will. As in the early days of his episcopate his zeal had not been limited to his own diocese, so now he was 'longing to see a strong staff in China and Japan,' and writing letters to his old colleague, Bishop Douglas of Bombay, on the needs of India and the means of supplying them. The fortunes of the Mother Church he ever followed with keen interest: throughout the volumes before us are warnings against the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 'which, if not destroyed, will destroy the Church.' After the delivery of what is known as the Purchas Judgment he wrote to his son: 'I do not feel very uneasy about the Ritualists. I think the remonstrance of the 5,000 has really won for them the day. The Bishop of London [Dr. Jackson] tells me that he thinks Parliament would have interfered if the judgment had been different.' Surely the last extraordinary statement from so respected a member of the Judicial Committee would of itself justify the following passage in which the Metropolitan continued: 'I do not think so—the court of Privy Council has lost its weight. Its judgments throughout have been so one-sided, and based upon expediency, that it can never again command respect.'

The words of Bishop Gray too truly describe the attitude which the Judicial Committee has appeared to many to assume as a court, not of strict justice, but of what, if for a moment we may adopt the legal technicality, we may call a court of equity. When we say that its awards have not been guided so much by abstract legality as by sheer expediency, it is not merely our opinion that we utter, for not only has this course been justified by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he even sets it down to the tribunal's credit that it has so framed its decisions as to legalize the position of the great divisions of the Church by the Gorham, the Wilson, and the Bennett cases.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Extract from Speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords, May 5, 1873:—'He was not going to reveal the secrets of the Judicial Committee, but he was going to make an assertion, which would be found correct, when the secrets of that committee came to be known. It was that there had been many instances in which the most learned members of that body might have fallen into difficulties if they had not had the benefit of the advice of those unlearned members, who could not be supposed to be able to advise them on mere matters of law. He could conceive it quite possible that some learned and noble lords, who in their

But it would be well if those who are thus enamoured of what seems to themselves to be equity, would remember what so great an authority as Blackstone has written on Equity itself. 'The liberty of considering all cases in an equitable light must not be indulged too far, lest we thereby destroy all law and leave the decision of every question entirely in the breast of the judge. And law, without equity, though hard and disagreeable, is much more desirable for the public than Equity without Law, which would make every judge a legislator and introduce most infinite confusion.' The Nemesis is rapidly working itself out, and those who at one time were profuse in their admiration of this ill-omened tribunal have had their enthusiasm rudely chilled by two recent judgments.

The Bishop's detractors, of whom he had many, persistently attempted to identify him with the ultra-Ritualists: but nothing could be more unjust: he wrote in 1867, 'I do not myself like ultra-Ritualism, but I do not believe that these men are untrue to the Church of England; and I believe that they might be guided if they were dealt fairly with and sympathy shown to them.' Writing to his own son in 1869, then recently entered on the duties of his benefice, he pleaded for patience and forbearance:

'Everything in these matters depends upon what people can bear. . . . I need not urge you to be gentle with the Methodists; by your account, it is zeal that has led to their multiplied ministrations. Be slow in your movements: let there be a gradual preparation of men's minds. If not, you will throw back your work.'

But while somewhat indifferent to the externals of worship, his whole career testified to the firm grasp which he had on the catholic faith; it was in the faithful insistence on this that he trusted to keep Church-people firm and loyal: 'when will the Church of England learn' (he wrote to the Bishop of Oxford [Wilberforce] in 1868), 'that she cannot retain her children, if she will not claim her full heritage of the faith?'

Probably, of the thousands who have known the Bishop's work and admired his chivalrous courage, without personally

legal capacity might be the ablest men in the kingdom, might still, from their ignorance of theological terms, so express themselves in a decision upon a theological point, that this might be the result—and he would venture to say it would have been the result in past times had there not been ecclesiastical members of the Privy Council to correct them—that one decision might have excluded the whole High Church party, another might have excluded the Low Church party, and a third the Broad Church party (a laugh).—*Guardian*, May 7, 1873.

knowing the man, the majority will regard him as the great confessor of modern times, as he indeed was; but they will not know much of the beauty of his inner life, without which all struggling for the faith must soon descend into a contentious striving for the victory of opinions. His biography will lead its readers rather to offer to his memory the reverence that is due to an exalted spiritual character. One of his fellow-labourers in Africa wrote of him:—‘He was ever living in the very presence of God; the lowest whispers which told of a way to walk in came to him as calls from which there was no escape.’ Throughout his letters and diaries there is apparent a calm and chastened spirit; impetuous, no doubt, he was, but it was a noble impetuosity ever enlisted on the side of the rightful and the true; indignant he was at times, but his indignation was synonymous with jealousy for the faith once for all delivered. No man was more indifferent to clamour when his conscience assured him that he was right. ‘The abuse which I get in the papers,’ he wrote in 1868, ‘acts as an advertisement. Cold hearts and prudent men stand aloof in consequence, but others are moved and warmed, and I speak out all the plainer.’ No man was ever more humble, more conscious of infirmities, more anxious to conciliate, and we have met with few more affecting circumstances than the fact (which does not appear in his biography) that the last sermon which he ever published, and which was passing through the press when he was lying on his death-bed, was on ‘The Sin and Danger of an Unforgiving Spirit,’ and that he frequently expressed his satisfaction that his last published utterance should be what it was. The sermon is now before us, and we learn from the preface that it was originally written nearly forty years before, as one of a series of sermons on the Lord’s Prayer. It was, indeed, one of his earliest utterances as a young vicar, and it was his last as a toil-worn Metropolitan. At the same time, we observe that in his last hours he said that ‘on their death-bed men see things of that sort [the Colenso case] in a newer or kinder light, but looking carefully back at his chief public acts, he was thankful to see nothing to repent of.’ Few men had been more misunderstood or misrepresented; few have had so many disappointments at the hands of those on whom they had a claim for sympathy; but we believe that throughout them all the good Bishop practised what he preached.

Those who knew and admired only his public career called him ‘lion-hearted.’ His strength was not that of a lion, it was rather that of a tower, ‘four square to all the



winds that blew,' but with that massive strength which no selfish or unworthy motive ever weakened, there was joined the tenderness of a woman. This all who knew him personally often experienced, and could not fail to recognize; the biography gives abundant instances of its being shown. Not the least among the personal hardships of his visitation tours was the sight of the sufferings of his horses, from which they could not be freed, but which he did his best to alleviate. In one of his earlier journeys he mentions the grief with which he saw the road strewn with carcasses of horses and oxen which had succumbed on their travels and been left to perish. He describes the illness of one of his own horses in a characteristic manner:—

'I gave him a dose of Battley's opium (intended for me in case of tic in my head) mixed with some wine that M. Le Sueur had been kind enough to put up for me. I slept but little, partly from the uncomfortableness of my bed, and partly from anxiety for my poor sick horse, who was tethered at my feet to the cart.'

On the next day he wrote, 'We took him out of the cart and stayed by him till he died.' Neither was his tenderness limited to the faithful companions of his travel, on whose health and condition his own movements depended, and of which the anecdote already quoted is not the only one which his biography affords. When Vicar of Whitworth, in his long walks from Durham to his parish, he established friendly relations with a solitary deer, which had taken up its abode in a wood through which his road lay. He talked to it, fixing his eyes on its eyes, and the creature allowed him to pat its head and would follow him almost to the church door. He used to feed the mice in the cathedral vestry at Capetown; the birds building in the thick creepers around his own house and that of St. George's Home, the half-starved dogs, which abound in Capetown, almost like the Oriental cur, homeless and ownerless, skulking in hate and fear from men, seemed to know and to be fearless with him; and a friend records how, on the very last occasion on which he enjoyed the Bishop's society at his own home, he took up a wounded beetle and carried it to a place where it would not be crushed, as they strolled up and down the garden path. Such was his pitiful care for all God's creatures, even the meanest. Of how tender a mould he was in his own family and among his friends, his biographer abundantly shows, and all who knew him will not need such testimony. The writer of these pages was once present on an occasion which showed how kind, how just, and how thorough the great Bishop was in everything

which he did. We were walking westward together one summer evening, and had just entered Kensington Gardens, when we were accosted by an Irish girl who told an improbable story of her having lost her place as a servant in consequence of attending a sister who had died in St. George's Hospital. There could be little doubt of her being an impostor, but the Bishop deliberately questioned and cross-questioned her, and at last he said, 'I fear you are telling me a lie; come with me to the hospital, and if I find your story true, you shall be cared for.' He was at the time ill and tired, and full of anxieties, but he did not think twice about going back a long mile to sift the story rather than either refuse help or give to an undeserving case. It is needless to add that before the hospital was reached, the girl ran away, and we retraced our steps, but it seemed at the time to be no insignificant test of the Bishop's thoroughness even in small matters, and the incident has never been forgotten.

Nor in his public conduct was he less tender and conciliatory. He had to fight for principles and he fought nobly. He did not mince his words when dealing with abuses and injustice. He spoke of the 'Dagon of the Privy Council,' of 'that masterpiece of Satan for the overthrow of the Faith,' but against individuals there is not one word recorded as having been uttered by him which would infringe the law of Christian charity. Neither would he allow others to speak with undue warmth of their Fathers and brethren. To an anonymous correspondent he wrote in 1869:—

'People ought to guard against the inclination to judge and disparage others: it is the sin of Churchmen in this day. It recoils upon those who yield to the temptation by injuring their own moral and spiritual state. — in a late letter has fallen foul of the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), the Bishop of Lincoln (Wordsworth), whom I think one of the noblest men of the day, the Bishop of Lichfield (Selwyn), another really great man, and the Vicar of Leeds (Woodford), with I know not how many more. Why should we not rather thank God for giving us such very noble men as the Bishop of Lincoln? A Church seldom has many such men in it at one time. It is not a healthy state which leads the mind to dwell disparagingly on the weak points of a good man. . . . I think the mind should be constrained on the good side of those around, especially of the Fathers of the Church, rather than the evil.'

And now, in taking leave of this biography, we feel how impossible it is in any notice, however lengthy, adequately to depict a man of so many gifts, such exalted graces, so abundant labours. We notice even, as we are about to lay down our pen, that we have omitted to point out the value of these

volumes as text-books of missionary life and policy. The enthusiasm of the dauntless prelate never for a moment warped his calm judgment, or weakened his sound common sense. Like Bishop Patteson, whose biography will find a place on many shelves side by side with that of Robert Gray, he insisted on 'plain hard-working right-minded curates' being sent to him.

*'In tenui labor ; at tenuis non gloria,'*

is no inapt description of a missionary life and work. The details are generally insignificant, often disagreeable, the results must always be magnificent. Both Bishops protested against being hampered with theorizers and sentimentalists, who are impatient of success, and whose hearts fail at the first experience of disappointment. 'There is quite enough here to encourage men whose minds are in a healthy state' (he wrote in 1848), 'but there is at the same time quite enough to discourage and disgust morbid souls.'

The battles which he fought and the sacrifices which he made, not for any abstruse refinements of theology, but for those elementary truths which are the very life and charter of the Church, are in striking contrast to the tendency of the nineteenth century towards compromise and comprehension and the worship of majorities ; his example will, we trust, be to many a call to the practice of similar fidelity and Christian manliness. Mr. Keble described these acts of confessorship as 'like a bit out of the fourth century'—future historians will have to record that in the nineteenth century the call to stand fast in the faith came from the poor struggling Church of South Africa ; that when in England men's hearts were failing them and not a few were disposed to compromise truth, lest the accident of an ancient establishment should be taken away as the penalty of fidelity, it was reserved for a Church which hardly reckoned its years by decades to show us where our true strength lay and to point out the principles on which alone, when external supports are removed, and all the armour wherein too many trusted has been taken away, the Church could take her stand in the assurance that she shall not be removed. One more biography remains to be written—the Church is waiting eagerly for it—and with the lives of Samuel Wilberforce and Robert Gray before them, our children will be able to realize what great things GOD has done for the Anglican communion in these latter days, and will learn to honour the men who were called and privileged to carry out His gracious purposes.

## ART. IV.—LORD CLARENDON AND THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT.

*A History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century.*  
By LEOPOLD VON RANKE. Oxford Translation, 1875.  
(Clarendon Press.)

THE Oxford translators of Ranke's *History of England* have done a good work, the full effects of which the longest-lived of them are hardly likely to witness. In its German form the book would have made little or no impression on our literature, but it is now accessible to all, and seems destined to bring about considerable changes in the modern English estimate of men and things in Stuart times. Not that these effects will be produced rapidly. The book is rather a commentary than a history, and therefore cannot supersede the usual sources of information. It is heavy in style, and almost wholly deficient in picturesque details. Yet it deals with its subject in so strictly philosophical a manner, so exhaustively weighs the evidence, so fearlessly and impartially gives the results, so illuminates English by the light of foreign history, and shows so much clearer an appreciation of our English political, religious, and social complications than our own writers on the seventeenth century have yet shown, that it cannot fail to exercise a gradual and an increasing influence on historical students. In course of time it is sure to produce a very different tone of thinking and teaching from that which prevails at present.

It was high time that some one should intervene; nor is it surprising that aid to the cause of truth should have to be sought from abroad. In the sphere of history, at any rate, we may abjure, and hope long to banish, the doctrine of non-intervention. The constitutional questions of the seventeenth century would seem to be still too much a part of the politics and theology of to-day to admit of severely impartial treatment at the hands of Englishmen. That romantic century, separated from us by such a vast gulf when we consider what England has done, suffered, and become since those days, is still so near us that its traditions linger on in every family and institution. Our hearts beat with every wave of thought and impulse of action which stirred the heroic blood of the period, not only because they interest us as history, but

because the struggle was for precisely the same things as we might be called upon to fight for to-morrow. Like the Athenian spectators of the sea-fight in the Gulf of Syracuse, described by Thucydides, we feel as if we were ourselves engaged; we bend involuntarily backwards and forwards with our champions, and fancy that our distant cries might animate the combatants, our breathless hopes and fears affect the issue.

Naturally enough, then, it is the age on which political writers of history eagerly seize for the development of their principles; and as nearly all our historians have for the last fifty years been on one side of politics, it is also perfectly natural that our history should have taken a particular tone. Once set by an able writer or group of writers, that tone becomes conventional. A chorus of applause drowns a feeble opposition. A generation becomes so accustomed to it, that nothing else can command attention. Silent contempt rewards the efforts of independent minds to recall the true note. The attempt is soon relinquished. Newspapers, reviews, articles, school histories, children's histories, pictorial histories, 'histories of the people,' have it all their own way, and the age exults in its enlightenment. But all this has happened before, and illusions seldom last through a second generation. If by the help of Ranke and those who may be expected to rally round his standard, a fresher and truer view of the Stuart period becomes the fashion, it will not be the first time that men have burnt the gods they once adored.

The best parallel to these violent fluctuations of English historical opinion is perhaps to be found in the successive waves of philosophical opinion in Germany. Living on the objective realities of the past, as cultivated Englishmen, in spite of appearances, so very largely do, rather than on theories of the present and future, history with us is a passion, a part of ourselves, a living example, a creed. That we are too often the victims of those whom we have followed as the safest guides may be perhaps only the penalty we must pay for a constitutional history of a thousand years, for a present which grows out of a continuous past, unbroken by revolutions, its elastic texture only strengthened by the lapse of time. It may be at bottom only a nervous dread of the destruction of that which we have learnt to hold dear which impels us to grasp with such tenacity the hands of our leaders. But whether such excuses are available or not, it is at least our duty to watch for the reaction which we may now certainly expect, to exhibit the present diseased condition of literary

opinion, and to point out the underlying forces which are giving evidence of a power capable of undermining and supplanting it.

We can hardly discuss the questions raised in connection with Lord Clarendon and the Restoration Settlement without advertng for a moment to the changes which have taken place in the modern estimate of those who fill a much larger space in the public eye,—Cromwell and Charles the First. We may, for our present purpose, class them all three together as the men who, on the whole, most affected the course of events in the seventeenth century; and we shall be doing no injustice to Strafford or Laud, Pym or Hampden, Shaftesbury or Halifax, Locke or William of Orange, if we hold that in the rank these men take on the historic stage they are not on a level with the first three. Charles and Clarendon represent the idea of the Constitution of England, that one of the two powers which Ranke justly tells us move the world—that one which England has accepted in preference to the other, 'the inherited, historically-formed power, interwoven with existing laws and prevailing social ideas, as distinguished from that which ascribes to the representation of the people an unlimited authority before which all historical rights vanish.' Make all deductions we choose from the merits and virtues of these two men, two of the chief factors of English history, and it remains that without them we should not have saved the Royal prerogative, which means the Crown, or the connection of Church and State, with all the mighty mass of interests bound up in that connection. Indeed, if we sweep English history from Alfred to Queen Victoria, we shall hardly find a single person to compare with Clarendon as the representative of the British Constitution—an assertion which may perhaps be more readily admitted when we proceed a little further in the present sketch. Cromwell just as surely represents the other and opposite power, the idea of action upon abstract principles, free from all traditional limitation, of unlimited resistance to the Crown, of the Nonconformists as against the Church. We hear much of Cromwell's large-minded toleration, but we may not forget that 'Prelacy' was proscribed under his government along with 'Popery.'

Let any one look back only a very few years, and he cannot fail to observe an extraordinary change in the modern estimate of these three great persons. They have, indeed, within the memory of man, actually changed places in the opinion, not of the vulgar alone, but the well-informed and



intelligent public. The great Protector, admitted into the line of kings and queens, already claims something more than equality with them. His cruelty, duplicity, fanaticism, self-will, his open tyranny, his overpowering ambition, the mistakes of his foreign policy, are all blotted out and forgotten. Like a fresh picture in a set of Dissolving Views we have bit by bit found the old outlines replaced by the lineaments of a godlike hero, the man of fervid piety, self-devotion, sagacity, the creator of English grandeur in the eyes of the world, the great leader under whom mankind has marched to liberty. Already the familiar lines of Gray, which stamped him guilty of 'his country's blood,' are taken to be a landmark of the poetical licence and historical ignorance of the Georgian period. Yet it is not so very long ago that Hallam, who must certainly be held to have represented the Liberal opinion of his day, as opposed to Toryism, and who said all he could in conscience say for Cromwell, compared him, in an elaborate passage, with the first Napoleon, summing up his estimate of the causes of their success with the remark that 'both possessed a certain coarse good nature and affability that covered the want of conscience, honour, and humanity ;'<sup>1</sup> nor, if we go back a little further, and ask the judgment of Charles James Fox, the person of all others most bound to take a favourable view of the Protector, shall we find a much milder verdict.<sup>2</sup>

The elevation of Cromwell involves, of course, the depression of Charles and his great Minister. They cannot all stand at the same level. It was not so long ago that the epithet, 'King Charles the Martyr,' was felt to convey a truth : but who would venture to use the term now? His faults have indeed been brought before a more searching light ; but he has not only received the condemnation he deserves for them ; his very virtues are denied, his foul murder finds no pity. A fitting saint and martyr for the Church of England was this false, tyrannical monarch ! shouts the enlightened press.

But Clarendon's case is harder still, if possible. The intrepid patriot who withstood the tyranny of Charles and his advisers in their prosperity, then when he deemed the country to have obtained sufficient safeguards, placed his services at the disposal of the unhappy King, stood faithful for twenty bitter years of war and exile to the fallen Crown when humbled to the dust, guided father and son through the labyrinths of their desperate career, applied at last his principles, those

<sup>1</sup> *Constitutional History*, ii. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *History of James II.*

with which he had set out, to the restoration of old England after the usurpers had been swept away, resisted to the death the corrupt advisers of his faithless pupil on his return, and fell at last overpowered with the enmity which it was his greatest honour to have incurred, the historian who has given us the one great work of English history which we possess, a work of matchless influence upon our national thought and institutions—this great man is now reviled as loudly as Charles I., his writings depreciated, his course of action maligned, his policy denounced with the utmost bitterness, his fall unpitied.

How, by whose means, under what circumstances, has this change come about? Has any fresh light been thrown upon these persons and times, so as to justify such a revolution of opinion? It will be difficult to prove that this has been the case. With the exception of the publication of *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* by Mr. Carlyle, and Mr. Forster's *Life of Sir John Eliot*, nothing new, or at least of any consequence, has transpired. Mr. Forster's books have done good service in exposing the tyrannical character of Charles's measures, and in showing the righteousness of the resistance made by Eliot and others; but they are simply an application of the habits of thought of the nineteenth to the circumstances of the seventeenth century, and entirely fail to measure the relative guilt of those who inherited a place and a system for which they were not themselves responsible, and who chiefly erred in its farther development. Nor, though it must be admitted that the letters of the great Protector have enabled us to understand him much better than before, and to perceive that his conduct was rather the result of fanaticism than hypocrisy, of self-deception and the impulsive influences of a sour puritanism rather than of political foresight or the vulgarest form of ambition, yet many of these letters were known before, and it may be doubted whether a candid perusal of the whole collection will make any sensible addition to the judgment pronounced by Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, written more than a century ago. That stiffest of Nonconformists discerned truly enough that Cromwell was guided throughout by three principles—(1) that an impression left on his mind after prayer was a rule of action which should supersede all others; (2) that private justice must give way to public necessity; (3) that the goodness of a cause was to be judged by its success. This is to place the motives and conduct of Cromwell in the most favourable light which can

be admitted; but who would trust five pounds to such a man? Who would commission him to execute the meanest functions of social life? Nor can it be supposed that any but the vulgar, if we may except those who have slavishly learnt to admire every utterance of Mr. Carlyle, have been much influenced by those apostrophes and vivacious comments which accompany the text of the letters. Familiar as we have become with the eccentric style of the veteran historian, it requires a strong stomach to enable one to digest the constantly recurring—'Yes, my brave one,' 'I should think so,' 'Another little window into his Highness,' 'His Highness is rallying, getting out of the unutterable into the utterable,' 'Groans from Dryasdust,' 'Look of yes from the military people,' 'Do you mark that, my honourable friends,' 'A real Head of the Church this King, not an imaginary one,' &c. &c.

It is not, then, the intrinsic merit of these and similar productions, still less anything new which has been advanced, to which we must look for the cause of the changed estimate of the modern press. They fell on a prepared soil. The preparation of that soil has been not literary, but political and politico-religious. And here it is that the date of the commencement of the change comes to the aid of our inquiry. It will be found to date from the period of the Reform Bill agitation, from the time when the Bishops were recommended by Lord Grey to set their house in order, from the Appropriation Clause, from the general and violent agitation which attended the termination of half-a-century of Tory rule, from that reorganization of our Constitution which the lapse of time and the delay of timely reforms had made absolutely necessary. That Constitution had never suffered so severe a strain since the days of the Stuarts; it was no wonder that men's minds became unsettled on historical questions. It was exactly the time for the appearance of a political prophet and historical teacher. The demand as usual produced the supply. Hallam had been a sort of precursory prophet; but the calmness of his thoroughly Whiggish mind was far from meeting the want. The more violent writers of the *Edinburgh Review* were much more nearly in the required track, and it is to one of these that the main share in the formation of our modern historical thought on these subjects must be ascribed. It is by Lord Macaulay's *Essays*, read and read again in their original form, and then collected and circulated by the thousand in cheap editions, that the work has been principally done. Reinforced by the later publication of his *History*, the views he maintained have gradually prevailed over all others, and more

modern writers have done little beyond echoing his sentiments with ever-increasing shrillness and sharpness. But echoes die out in the end; and even if we did not perceive the importance of Ranke's work in producing that result, we might well have augured from the very nature of Macaulay's utterances that they could not stand the test of time. Their surpassing influence is intelligible enough from their brilliant style, their exceeding wealth of illustration, their magnificent scorn of opposition, their sledge-hammer positiveness. The ear of the nation was indeed caught and retained, as it had never been caught and retained before. But the readers of the very interesting *Life* which has just been published can be at no loss to understand how the circumstances of Macaulay's education, and the violent partisanship of his whole early and middle life, did in reality unfit him for the task which he undertook; they cannot but perceive by a calm reperusal of the celebrated *Essays* how much they owe to their having been struck off at white heat during the terrific agitation of the times when they were written—times when it was utterly impossible that one who lived in them, as Macaulay did, could possibly exercise the judicial qualities of the historian. The misfortune has been that what was well adapted for a moment of political conflict, as a means of strengthening his party and promoting the sale of a Review, should have been set up as a standard round which the educated world was to rally for all time. Valuable as the recovery of certain long-neglected truths was in itself, it may be a question if it was not dearly purchased at the price of an entire eclipse of the other and larger circle of truths. Is it to be for ever thus in the region of history? Are we never to rejoice in the full orb of unclouded light? Are we to be for ever satisfied with alternate glimmerings insufficient to walk by, and leading us into many a snare and pitfall? If the truth must be told, it will be difficult to name a modern English historian who even attempts to give both sides dispassionately. One great exception must indeed be made in the person of Lord Stanhope, whose recent loss to history and letters can never be sufficiently deplored, and has not as yet been adequately recognized; but he unfortunately left the period of the Stuarts to other hands.

We have then to cross the Channel for help. It is remarkable and suggestive that even for a moderately fair, intelligible and popular account of the Civil War itself, the last generation was indebted to a foreigner. M. Guizot's *English Revolution* was the first book in modern times

which presented a real, living picture of the great conflict which has so affected the history of the civilized world, in colours which were not glaringly false, and proportions which were not monstrous. Using all the lights which were at that time available, and gathering with true French genius the complicated situation of affairs into a focus, he produced a book which may still be read with pleasure, and has, indeed, not been superseded. His chief defect was that the French type of Protestantism had so penetrated his mind that he was quite unable to grasp the position of the English Church in the politics of those times; and as that was beyond doubt the key to the whole subject, it is only wonderful that his picture was so little out of perspective.

The same difficulty, but in an inferior degree, has beset Ranke himself. The German Lutheran is far nearer to our standpoint than the French Protestant; but the Church of England still seems to be a mystery to all who are outside her communion, and a stumbling-block to all who write upon the times of the Stuarts. No one is more aware of the importance of this side of his task than Ranke, as may be seen in the following passage: 'As the result,' he says, 'of the intimate connection which had subsisted from the earliest times between Church and State, religious questions were everywhere, but particularly in England, the kernel of the political. We may fairly ask whether this is not still the case in our own day, though the fact is less noticed.'<sup>1</sup> But it would in reality appear that, however fair and impartial an historian may wish to be, unless he has received a training which is the lot of few, he labours under disadvantages almost insuperable.

An English reader, thoroughly conversant with the seventeenth century, can hardly then accept Ranke's judgment on Charles I. and Cromwell as final. There is much yet to be done before the work of the political writers can be so balanced in the mind of the British public by truer history, that any sensible change in the estimate of these great personages will be effected. But a beginning has been made; and many a future writer will probably be encouraged to take a more independent line of thought, and a more consistent view of the leading men of that age than even Ranke himself.

In the case of Cromwell, for example, it is refreshing to find the great historian, who, by the consent of all, takes the first rank among the historians of the present century, going

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, iii. 348.

so far as to admit that the Protector's authority was merely that of the tyrant, 'depending for its existence on the force of arms and his own personal character,' 'felt to be an oppressive burden,' both by friends and foes, at home and abroad, and causing the man to be 'hated rather than loved';<sup>1</sup> and to observe that he condemns the Irish massacres as well as their author's manner of describing them in his letters, inasmuch as those fierce executions could not be excused on the ground of fanaticism or accident, but were rather the result of 'cold-blooded calculation and a violence which is deliberate.'<sup>2</sup> Yet Ranke would be very far from following Hallam's example and depressing Cromwell to the level of the first Napoleon.

And again in the case of Charles I., no greater contrast could be imagined than that we find between Ranke's treatment of the unfortunate King's conscientious convictions and the way in which such subjects are handled by the modern school. We hear nowadays so much of his duplicity and faithlessness, his tyranny and heartlessness, that we are inclined to forget, what we all along very well know, that his mistakes were more of the head than of the heart, his errors those of his education and his inherited position, his virtues all his own. The indiscriminate laudation common in the period when he was almost worshipped as a saint and martyr, has, indeed, passed away; and no one could attempt to revive it with any prospect of success. The defence of his political conduct made by Hume in the last century, and even as late as the present by the elder Disraeli, has equally become a thing of the past. But who can study the King's own letters—not the mere garbled extracts published by the rebels from the copies found in his carriage at Naseby—without observing, through the clouds of the casuistry in which he was brought up, the predominant conscientiousness of the man? Who can follow the authentic memoirs of his imprisonment, the conferences in which he displayed such brilliant talents, his magnificent behaviour at his trial and murder, without feeling that a key must be found somewhere to unlock the inconsistencies which meet us so often in tracing his troubled history.

The juxtaposition of the two following passages from our author will place his views on the above point before the reader:—

'To some,' says he, 'it will appear scarcely allowable, in the light of our times, to revert to the question, how far the words

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, iii. 214, 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 33.



repeatedly uttered by Charles I. in the solemn moments between this life and eternity, that he died as a martyr, really expressed a truth. Certainly not so in the sense that has been attached to them, that he was merely a sufferer who lived and bled for the known truth. He was rather a prince who all his life long fought for his own rights and power, which he, if ever man did, personally exercised, seeking at first to extend, and later only to defend them, by all means in his power, open and secret, in council and in the field, in the battle of words and with actual weapons, and who perished in the conflict.<sup>1</sup>

But we read a little further on as follows :—

‘He trusted chiefly to the intrinsic power of rights and ideas for which he fought. Though imprudent in his undertakings, he was at bottom of solid understanding ; often undecided and untrustworthy, —we know how fond he was of having two strings to his bow,—he never lost sight of the importance of his cause ; he was naturally inclined to concessions, but neither the threats of his enemies nor the entreaties of his confidants could induce him to cross the line which he had marked out with sagacity and conscientiousness in religion and politics ; he held immovably the convictions on which depended the connection between the Crown and the established Church. . . . It would have been easy for him to save his life. . . . That he did not do so is his merit towards England. Had he given his word to dissolve the episcopal government of the Church, and to alienate its property for ever, it is impossible to see how it could ever have been restored. Had he granted such a position to the army as was asked in the “Four Articles,” the self-government of the corporations and of the commons, and the later parliamentary government itself, would have become impossible. So far the resistance which he offered cannot be estimated highly enough. So far there was certainly something of a martyr in him, if the man can be so called who values his own life less than the cause for which he is fighting, and in perishing himself, saves it for the future.’<sup>2</sup>

The consistency of these two passages with one another was no doubt clear in the mind of the author, but it might have been better if he had developed it a little further. It is easy to see that they can only be reconciled by interpreting the battle for the King’s ‘own rights and power,’ of which he first speaks, as a battle also for the freedom of his people and the rights of the Church, of which he speaks in the second place. The first passage covers his whole career, the second may refer only to his conduct after the war had commenced. And surely this is the fact. In that later period we may well hold that both motives of action coincided. The issue was in truth, as Charles put it when he

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, ii. 550.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 553.

stood on the fatal scaffold—'It is for the liberties of the people that I am come here.' For those liberties which he had himself crushed in the day of prosperity he contended to the death. By that death he not only expiated his faults towards the nation, but left us the inheritance which we now enjoy. Perhaps, after all, it may not be so much amiss to speak once more of him as 'King Charles the Martyr.'

It is again in accordance with this more favourable judgment that we find Ranke asserting that Charles 'lived in the conviction that he had committed a fault for which he was punished, but that he was the champion of a holy cause to which God's help could never be wanting.' In the same spirit our author even ventures to assert once more the King's authorship, though not in the full sense, of that famous *Eikôn Basilike*, which played so great a part in the history of England. What scorn would be heaped on any lesser name on whose authority it was stated that this much-controverted book, though put into form by another hand, 'contained much that was actually Charles' own composition,' that 'the later portions possess historical value, and may very likely belong to the times of his last imprisonment,' and that 'they express throughout Charles the First's resolution not to let himself be degraded to the position of a king who may follow neither his reason nor his conscience!' This is not very far from Bishop Kennet's well-known theory of the authorship. But we may well expect that it will be long enough yet before English authors will venture to commit themselves to the judgment on this subject delivered by the sages of past times,—who had by-the-by so many better opportunities of forming a correct opinion than ourselves,—such men as Bishops Pearson and Burnet, South, Warburton, Hume, and Dr. Johnson. If Dr. Wordsworth, who stood almost alone in this century, somewhat damaged his cause by carrying his defence farther than we can follow, his independent and courageous criticism will be honoured by those who value the judgment of the great German writer who has now come to his assistance.

As the figure of Lord Clarendon is less prominent than those of Charles and Cromwell, and less romantic on the stage of history, though perhaps more important in a Constitutional point of view, the process of depreciation to which he and his works have been subjected has been less observed, more pursued by way of inuendo, ridicule, and small attacks, more taken for granted as something which an enlightened public must necessarily accept without proof. But though the method has been rather that of sap than storm, the persistent animus

with which the attack has been sustained has been still more apparent, and its success still more complete; so complete indeed that even for the readers of the *Church Quarterly* a slight sketch of what this great man was, and what he did, may not be unacceptable. The debt which we owe him for the Restoration Settlement has never yet perhaps been sufficiently recognized. As a matter of fact, it may almost be said that to modern eyes the Revolution has eclipsed and extinguished the Restoration. The final establishment of the Constitution, after the failure of Charles the Second and James the Second to overthrow it, has obliterated the far greater monuments of English wisdom raised by the advisers of the first of those monarchs after the Great Rebellion. The farther precautions against the yoke of Rome and the tyranny of the Sovereign which were possible at the later date, being called for by the whole nation, were impossible at the former, nor could the keenest-sighted of statesmen be expected at that time to see their necessity. The gigantic work to be done was to place the old English Constitution in working order suitably to a condition of affairs so different from that which preceded the Civil War, to restore the old lines in such a way, that they might not run counter to necessary changes. What a delicate task it was! How many, and what vast, interests had to be consulted! When was ever a settlement effected, so just on the whole to all parties, and yet so strictly conservative of the inheritance of the past which the country by an immense majority resolved to restore and perpetuate!

We have to make good our assertion that Clarendon has been and still is to students of English history the one chief representative of the British Constitution. It will be seen that he has become so by a twofold process, by his political career at the critical period of our history when the Constitution, thrown into the crucible, emerged, substantially, in its present shape; and by his works, which revived and perpetuated the memory of that period. We are apt to think of him too exclusively under the latter aspect. No attempt will be made to depreciate it here, but we prefer to dwell on the former; for no one who understands the reign of Queen Anne can fail to have observed the immense effect of the publication of *The Great Rebellion*. Withheld from the public—not without good reason—till several reigns had passed away, it affected the nation to an extent unparalleled in the annals of literature. Strengthening and vivifying as it did the convictions of a powerful section of Englishmen in the midst of a period of balanced political struggle, it can scarcely be doubted

that it was this publication which turned the scale. The Church, which more than commonly formed the backbone of the politics of that day, received an enormous impulse, and its enemies, Roman Catholic and Nonconformist, a very serious blow. The majestic description of the perils through which the united Church and State had passed nerved thousands who had previously been lukewarm in the cause of the Constitution, and left its mark on the legislation of that eventful reign. Perhaps the superiority of the Episcopal clergy over the Nonconformist ministers was more due to the impulse thus given than Roger North supposed when he wrote (in Queen Anne's reign) thus:—'Of late full scope is given to the conventicles, but alack! there is no rebellion to be raised, and so they are become effete and useless, and the teachers are stunned and amazed at the vast deflection of the people from them to the Established Church, and at this day remain under a consternation at it; for they presumed their gifts to be so much superior to those of the dull, conformable clergy, that being once let in, they thought they should soon empty all the churches, but have found themselves out-preached, out-written, out-lived, and in every good thing, even in popularity itself, if that be such, out-done by the episcopal clergy.'<sup>1</sup>

Lord Stanhope has, in a fine passage,<sup>2</sup> described how at a still later date, far within the reign of George the First, the effects of this revived enthusiasm for the principles of the Cavaliers exhibited itself, and traces the 'second growth of Jacobitism' to Clarendon's 'noble work,' 'the great character of the author,' 'his unconquerable spirit of loyalty, his firm attachment to the fallen, his enduring and well-founded trust in God when there seemed to be none left in man.' 'The difference of the cases was forgotten;' spell-bound by that 'spirit-stirring history,' men imagined that they were throwing away life and fortune for Charles the Martyr when they were only plotting and drinking healths for a Roman Catholic pretender. Truly, if mankind are to profit by the lessons of the past, it is no bad provision for this purpose that the chief actors in heroic times should take their turn of disgrace and banishment, or at least should be allowed to retire from public life in time to write memoirs. Whatever may be our sympathy with the sufferers, it is to this dispensation that we owe the immortal work of Thucydides in ancient times, of Clarendon in modern, to say nothing of the contributions of Whitelocke and Ludlow, of Commynes, Sully, and De Retz. If Clarendon's writings have accidentally encouraged some unprac-

<sup>1</sup> *Examen*, 446.

<sup>2</sup> *History of England*, ii. 33, 5th edit.

tical dreams, their influence for good on the whole can hardly be sufficiently estimated, nor are their virtues yet exhausted.

We are perhaps less familiar with this great man's claims on our gratitude through his own personal share in the conflict and settlement of the seventeenth century. Let us recapitulate them.

And first we may notice as a factor in the character of the young Hyde, that he was born exactly at the time, 1608, when the English race was at its highest development, while Shakspeare, Raleigh, and Bacon were yet in their prime, the Elizabethan impulse not yet spent, the sense of English greatness not yet seriously impaired, the strength of the English Church Establishment not yet debilitated by the innovations introduced under Charles the First. Next, that he came of a thoroughly good English stock, the traditions of which never left him, and which indeed were strengthened by the two marriages he successively made. Next, that he affected the company of every distinguished man with whom he could make acquaintance. The somewhat pompous and self-satisfied account he has given us of his early life is not altogether agreeable reading, but we see throughout the marks of the inquiring, self-educating, literary, thoughtful mind, in incessant contact with the very ablest men of his day, neglecting the mere pursuit of legal studies, which was his profession, or rather keeping them in quite a secondary place, while he devoured all the ancient and modern literature which came in his way, and thus laid the foundation of that inimitable style which so captivated our forefathers, and even yet keeps his works afloat amidst the flood of our own sensational rhetoric.

From the university of Oxford the young Hyde seems to have gained, in any direct way, but little; for his father died soon after he came into residence. Magdalen College at first, to its credit, refused, and then too late consented, to obey James's mandate in his favour; and thus it came to pass that Magdalen Hall had the honour of receiving the future Chancellor, whose blood was to mingle with that of the Sovereigns of Great Britain. His friendships, however, with so many Oxford men, and especially with Falkland and Sheldon, his constant visits to Great Tew, which 'looked like the University itself by the company that was always found there,'<sup>1</sup> and perhaps still more, the character of his mind and studies, made him as much an Oxonian as if he had lived there for years; while his wider sphere of life as a country gentleman and

<sup>1</sup> *Clarendon's Life and Continuation* (Oxford, 1827), i. 48.

London barrister corrected the narrowness which an exclusively academical residence was wont—perhaps we may say, even in these days of railways—is wont, to foster.

Thus at the commencement of the troubles in 1640, he was only thirty-two years of age; old enough to understand his part, young enough to play it; trained to discussion, yet fixed in principle; devoted to Church and State, yet a firm enemy to the abuses which he well knew to be no proper part of that connection, but rather a canker which would destroy the whole body politic if not cut out with the knife. Hence the part he played as a reformer both in the 'Little' and the 'Long' Parliament. Hence the leading position he assumed as 'the greatest chairman in the committees of the greatest moment,'<sup>1</sup> those on the court of York, on the behaviour of the Judges as to ship-money, on the jurisdiction of the President and Council of Wales. He is dining daily at this time with Pym and Hampden, Fiennes and Haselrig. The Star Chamber and the High Commission Courts fall by his help. His name is not even found amongst those of the members who opposed the Bill of Attainder against Strafford.

This phase of his career comes to an end when he discovers, in a conversation with Fiennes, that the quarrel would be to the death against the Bishops.<sup>2</sup> We know how he began now to consider that reforms had gone far enough, and must not be allowed to degenerate into revolution, that sufficient security had been taken by means of Triennial Parliaments, the practical control of the public money by Parliament, and the solemnly-confirmed power of impeachment. Mr. Forster has made his conduct, during this short period of hesitation and transition, the subject of one of his bitterest attacks. But when Charles found it desirable to accept the advice of one who had hitherto most opposed him, what can be a greater misuse of words than to call it treachery that a man in Hyde's position should keep his secret as long as he found he could effect anything towards a reconciliation of the conflicting parties? From this violent writer's point of view, it might indeed be a backsliding from the front rank of the rebellious leaders, now advanced some steps beyond reform; but if Hyde could save the nation from civil war by influencing the waverers in Parliament, while he advised the King as to the necessary concessions, who can justly blame him? Rather he deserves all praise. It was the same grand position that he held at the Restoration, the representative of the golden mean, abused by the extreme men on both sides, but inflexibly holding his

<sup>1</sup> *Clarendon's Life and Continuation*, i. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 91.



own. It is the position of the Beatitudes:—'Blessed are the peace-makers.'

So also, after the printing of the 'Grand Remonstrance' had been carried against Hyde's utmost efforts, that decisive act of the 'Root and Branch' party, which even May, the sympathetic historian of the Long Parliament, virtually condemns, and Hallam has stigmatized as ungenerous after the King's concessions,—after the illegal proceedings on both sides, the imprisonment of the Bishops, the session of a Parliamentary Committee with full powers during the adjournment of the House, the forcing of the Bill against dissolving Parliament,—and then, on the King's part, the arrest of the Five Members; even after the departure of Charles for the North, quickly followed by Hyde, even yet this man of peace refuses to give up his efforts in that sacred cause. It was now that his cultivated literary and legal knowledge brought him decisively to the first place among the King's advisers. We know how the paper war which now raged was conducted by Hyde in a manner so superior to that of the parliamentary writers that they found it necessary to suppress the royal documents, while the King's party found nothing more advantageous than to print the parliamentary papers side by side with their own. In the appeal to law,—the abuses of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties having once been swept away, and the issue once distinctly raised under the guidance of Hyde,—the side of the rebellion had no chance. The position at this crisis is well put by Ranke:

'The contest was not between absolute power and a democratic republic, though these ideas appear in the background. The one party, in fact, desired Parliament not without the King; the other the King not without Parliament; but the one sought to maintain the autonomy of the Throne and of the Church, and the Estates of the Realm as hitherto constituted; the other would shake the foundation of the Church, and subject the Crown unconditionally to Parliament. Therefore, on the question of the Militia, a dispute broke out within the legislative body itself; part broke loose from the rest and joined the King.'<sup>1</sup>

Of this part Hyde was the intellectual and political chief.

Our space imperatively forbids us to dwell on the numerous points of interest which cluster round the career of this great man during the period of nearly twenty years which now intervened. We can see, as we watch his painful course, how every step was preparing him for the work which was in store for him. We observe the ever-increasing

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, ii. 357.

confidence with which the unhappy Sovereign regarded him ; and at the same time the incessant, but unsuccessful attempts he made, by placing some check upon the evil counsellors whose aid could hardly be dispensed with in those sad years of war, to prevent the ruin of that Sovereign. We follow his Mission in charge of Prince Charles ; we watch his resolute resistance to the ubiquitous influences which Rome was weaving round the exiled family, his equally resolute counsels, when better times dawned, against the policy which would have restored the crown on inadmissible conditions. A pedantic, obstinate, bigoted man, his enemies called him ; too much given to finding fault and lecturing,—so said the younger soldiers and the heedless courtiers, so also said the Papist James II., in his secret *Memoirs*, and Roger North, the ultra-Tory, in his long-suppressed *Examen* ;—we recognize in Hyde the life-long bosom-friend of the wise and good, the one steadfast counsellor round whom all England gathered, the *justus et tenax propositi* on whom men of every sort found themselves forced to rely. But whatever else we may omit, it is necessary for the purposes of this sketch to observe how pre-eminently above all other influences which he exerted during this period stands forth his unwavering resolution to keep each of his royal masters in succession true to the central idea of governing by and with Parliaments.

To him was due the attempt to create a Parliament at Oxford which should overshadow and suppress the Parliament in London. Perhaps a prince who could have taken more heartily to the idea might have made something more than Charles was able to make out of what he himself calls, in his letters, his 'mongrel Parliament.' So also, when the weary years of waiting had rolled away at last, and England was calling once more for her King, it was Hyde above all others who insisted that the Declaration of Breda should be limited by the decision of Parliament. Consistently with all that he had done and suffered, he would have the nation in free assembly decide on the measures necessary for its well-being. It was an eventful resolution on his part. The whole subsequent history of England has depended upon it. And his modern detractors know it well. This policy, so constitutional, so wise in relation to a prince like Charles the Second, excites the bitterest wrath. In their hatred of what the free Parliament did they forget their hatred of arbitrary power. Just as the ultra-royalists of the Restoration condemned the Minister for his all-powerful resistance to their intolerance and selfishness, so the modern school tells us that Charles ought

to have been allowed to accept the terms offered him by Monk, without any reference to future Parliaments. The headlong defenders of prerogative join the headlong defenders of the 'people's rights.' The vices of the seventeenth century make up their differences with those of the nineteenth. Extremes, as usual, meet.

And now the time had come for which Hyde abroad, and his friend Sheldon at home, had so long been preparing, the great crisis of Church and State, when the old and the new were to be welded together, and the people of England once more set going on the track which they have followed ever since.

And first as to the State. The solution of the political problem was to be found in the preservation of the royal prerogative jointly with the full rights of Parliament; but that prerogative was no longer to be supported by the arbitrary courts and crooked contrivances of former days; those parliamentary rights were to be made for the first time in our history a reality. It is remarked by Lingard,<sup>1</sup> with perfect justice, that Hyde, now Earl of Clarendon, introduced the maxim which his successors followed, viz. to leave the Parliament, in show at least, to the unbiassed exercise of its own judgment. In this was bound up the whole future. The Revolution and all that has happened since have been but the natural and easy developments of Clarendon's policy, laid down in opposition to King and courtiers, royal mistresses and foreign ambassadors. It was one thing to engage that Parliaments should never more be suppressed by want of summons;—this had been already provided for, but it was impossible as yet to surround it with proper safeguards, and it was violated, not indeed with impunity, by both royal brothers:—it was another thing to make Parliaments practically free while they were sitting, and thus to establish continuous precedents, to form a self-adjusting system which should develop by degrees such vigour and invincibility that no enemy could assault it without being dashed to pieces, like waves foaming round the reefs of some coral-formed island which has been growing year by year beneath the sea till at last it defies the storm, is ready to be clothed with ever-fresh verdure, and becomes the centre of some gigantic system, perhaps one of the glories of the earth. Till this was done Party-government was impossible, for parties could never form. Instead of 'His Majesty's Government' and 'His Majesty's Opposition,' as we say more truthfully than we suppose in our modern newspapers, the alternative was pro-

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, ix. 121.

scription and civil war. But when once this absolute freedom became habitual and recognized, retrogression was for ever prevented. Intrigue, bribery, corruption of every kind, might impede the certain results of the policy, but under party-government all hindrances must pass away. If Danby and Shaftesbury first instituted a real system of political parties, drawn up on opposite and defined principles within certain common limits, so that they should be ever watching one another and alternately governing,—and this in its rude outline was the grand boon contributed, not only to England but to the whole civilized world, in the times of the later Stuarts,—Clarendon must enjoy the credit of having made our system of constitutional government possible.

There is nothing on which the detractors of Clarendon are more eloquent than on his alleged departure from this principle in opposing the parliamentary appropriation of supplies and defending the dispensing power of the Crown. The course of events showed that he was wrong, or at any rate necessitated the reversal of his policy. But let us put ourselves in his place, and try to think as a Minister like Clarendon must at the Restoration have thought. The nation, after twenty years' abeyance of the Crown, once more demanded personal government from its rightful Sovereign; but, taught by past experience and justly suspicious of Charles, it would give him no substantial power of any sort, no instalment of a standing army, scarcely even a body-guard; yet half of it had only recently been banded together against him; many thousands of Cromwell's consummate soldiers were scattered over the land, very many in London itself. The smouldering embers were from time to time just bursting out into flame. Towards the end of Charles's reign, when bonfires on Queen Elizabeth's birth-day blazed all along Cheapside, amidst the tumultuous roar of seditious multitudes, who then first acquired the title of the 'mob,' the scenes of 1641 would certainly have been re-enacted, had it not been for the few regular troops, and still more dreaded cannon, which had by this time been collected together, and were available to guard Whitehall.<sup>1</sup> No one hated, or tried harder than Clarendon to prevent, the wicked uses to which Charles put so much of the revenue which had been granted him; but the Minister felt with equal force that 'secret-service money' might well be necessary under the circumstances for State purposes, that the nation was not yet ripe for so great an innovation as a public inspection of the King's accounts, that the crooked courses of the incorrigible

<sup>1</sup> North's *Examen*, p. 574, &c.

monarch would not bear exposure, and that the consequences of exposure might too probably involve another rebellion. In his agony of fear lest the Royal family should once more be banished, he condemned himself to banishment, to the knife of the assassin, to the melancholy death of the exile. The one idea of his faithful nature was to make the best of his tremendous task, to hide the faults which he could not cure, to prevent by his own personal influence and incessant vigilance the evils which he would not cut out at the root by abolishing the financial independence of the Crown or its dispensing power. For him the question was :—How is the King's government to be carried on ? Like many another anomaly in our Constitution the power was to be retained, its exercise controlled. We know how, even at the Revolution, the country shrank from legislative enactments which the previous experience had made absolutely necessary.

But whatever judgment we may pass on Lord Clarendon's resistance to the appropriation of supplies, it affords another illustration of his thoroughly sound constitutionalism as to Parliaments. It can hardly be denied that so great a political change should not have been made without an appeal to the people ; and this it was which the Minister imperatively demanded. He advised the King to dissolve an assembly which had already sat too long, but which lingered on for many years more, and, under the title of the ' Pension Parliament,' brought many a disgrace on Great Britain. The King and the Bishops, fearful lest more Presbyterians should be returned at a new election, and Monk, alarmed at the still threatening Cromwellian element, refused to listen to Clarendon ; but he at least was true to his principles. The old prerogative was, in his conception, to co-exist with the free Parliament. It was to be made to co-exist by calling a fresh Parliament. It did so exist till the Stuarts themselves threw away their advantage and made the place assigned to them in the old Constitution for ever untenable. By that time the forces of British society had assumed sufficient coherence to dispense with the dispensing power of the Crown.

Ranke has sketched, in a few powerful lines, making use among other materials, of a well-known passage in Pepys' Diary, the position of Clarendon at this supreme point of his career :—

' All the more prominently loomed the figure of the Chancellor, who literally lived and moved amid business. He commanded a hearing in the Privy Council, when he made a proposal, through his natural eloquence and the superiority which a perfect acquaintance

with the subject always gives. He seemed to be instructing the rest in a light, easy manner; no one would have ventured to contradict him. . . . He had got into his own hands an immense amount of patronage in all branches of the public service. In England, as well as Ireland, the Episcopate as a whole was indebted to him for its restoration, and most of the Bishops also owed him their nomination. The reorganization of the Judicial Bench was still more palpably his work. He was the most prominent representative of the old-fashioned loyalty. . . . He had the most intimate relations with the bankers who advanced money to meet the wants of the State. In foreign affairs the initiative and the maintenance of secrecy, an all-important point, rested with him. . . . The family alliance into which he had entered, through his daughter's marriage with the Duke of York, gave him a decisive pre-eminence, even among the nobility. . . . It was only natural that this colossal power should excite envy and jealousy.<sup>1</sup> . . .

'There was something grand in his position while he endeavoured to define and hold fast the limits between Monarchy and Parliament, opposing now one, now the other. And, perhaps, he might have succeeded in this had he been successful in other matters.'<sup>2</sup>

And again, when he fell—

'Thus,' says Ranke, 'volcanic England threw on a foreign shore the man who had given her a royalist and an ecclesiastical organization. The historical merit of the Chancellor consists in this, that he united, after the most violent revolutions, the new England to the old.'<sup>3</sup>

And now a word on the ecclesiastical establishment at the Restoration. How much may be attributed to Clarendon and how much to Sheldon, we shall probably never know; but the first place must be given to the responsible Minister to whose hands the work was entrusted. This work consisted of two distinct parts, the final settlement of our Prayer-Book, together with the means taken to secure the proper joint action of clergy and laity in the process, and, secondly, the strictly parliamentary part which related to the Act of Uniformity. It is here that we most miss the guiding hand of a master. Ranke, from the causes to which we have referred, has failed to penetrate to the recesses of this subject; nor can we do more here than make the briefest passing reference to it. A history of England since the Reformation, which shall give its due historical place throughout this period to the action of the Church of England, is still just as much a desideratum as ever.

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, iii. 407-8.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 26.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 461.



To assert that the final settlement of our Prayer-Book was a perfect model of constitutional action is to repeat a commonplace of history ; and it is impossible to overrate the importance of that settlement, the result and completion of more than a century of stormy and fluctuating struggle, a fabric which has lasted unshaken to our own day, under which we still live and act, and to the construction of which we still refer with ever-increasing curiosity. This curiosity assumes, indeed, a more and more practical nature as we discover more and more clearly how exceedingly difficult it is to perform that operation called 'changing front in face of the enemy,' or even to effect the slightest change in the great settlement without running the risk of absolutely falling to pieces. All the more honour to him who steadily pursued the same constitutional steps by which the Prayer-Book of the Church of England had become the law of the land, but in a manner more perfectly unexceptionable than even in the reign of Edward VI. Every stage of the process indicated by the King's Message to the House of Lords—which, indeed, was his own—was honestly and loyally carried through under his direction. The Commission was

'granted, under the Great Seal, to several Bishops and other divines to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to prepare such alterations and additions as they thought fit to offer ; afterwards the Convocations of the Clergy of both provinces of Canterbury and York were by his Majesty called and assembled . . . and upon full and mature deliberation . . . they exhibited and presented to his Majesty in writing some alterations which they think fit to be inserted in the same, and some additional prayers . . . all which his Majesty having duly considered, doth, with the advice of his Council, fully approve and allow the same ; and doth recommend it to the House of Peers,' &c. &c.

From that House, with, as it would seem, some further alterations made by a joint committee of Convocation and Peers, lay and episcopal, the Prayer-Book passed to the House of Commons, where no alteration of any kind was made. The strictly parliamentary business, as to the degree and manner of its use, the provisions, in short, of the Act of Uniformity, with which the Clergy had no special concern except through the Bishops in the House of Lords, then began. It was this complete and deliberate character of the process, including, as it did, the legitimate action of every part of the body politic, and insuring that nothing should be done in a hurry, nothing forced upon the clergy or laity against their will, which has placed the Establishment upon so firm a foundation that every

effort to root it up only adds to the strength and tenacity of its position. Some few exceptional members of the Church are found to swell the discordant chorus of the Liberation Society, but not a few of these have of late years learnt, upon farther inquiry into the history of the Restoration Settlement, to understand and value their privileges.

In adopting this constitutional course, Clarendon must have the further credit of having relinquished his own preconceived opinions on important points. No one would gather from the terms in which he is nowadays reviled as a bigot and a persecutor, that it was his ideas that were contained in the Declaration of Breda and in that of October 25, 1660. Both were issued when he was supreme and almost sole adviser of Charles, and in both are contained principles which would certainly have drawn the more religious and moderate Non-conformists within the limits of the Church. The Prayer-Book itself he did not wish to alter in any particular; for he thought there would be no end of such alterations, and that they would satisfy no one of those 'whose faction was their religion.' In this he suffered himself to be overruled by the legislature, but not to any great extent after all. In the application of the Prayer-Book to the use of the nation, he was willing to be far more liberal than the legislature. It would seem that he would not only have made certain rites and ceremonies optional, but have approved of some approach to the famous 'Ussher's Model' of the Episcopate, to which Charles I. and the saintly Hammond had once been brought to consent, and towards which our own modern movement for the increase of the Episcopate, for the reform of Church patronage, and for the development of diocesan synods, is in some degree tending. It is also well known that the harshness of the final proceedings which issued in the expulsion of so many non-conformist ministers on St. Bartholomew's Day, would have been mitigated if he had followed his own unbiassed opinion; but the time has not, perhaps, even yet come when that distressing event can be fairly and dispassionately discussed. None of the fresh light which is so much required has been thrown upon it by Ranke.

Bishop Burnet's unfavourable judgment upon Clarendon's course of action in ecclesiastical matters has received the more attention in consequence of his generally favourable view of the great Minister's career. He has described the policy which Clarendon from this time pursued towards the Nonconformists as the result of the personal position he had attained, his family alliances and ambitious schemes. Like many

another judgment of that clever historian which succeeding generations have learnt to suspect, question, and reject, this view will not bear candid examination. The future historian of Clarendon will be able to prove by his letters the depth and the nature of his attachment to the Episcopal government of the Church, and he will be able to unfold the reasons which determined him to a different course in the Act of Uniformity and the Conventicles Act from that which he had at the commencement of the reign laid down for his guidance.

Under the first head he will notice, on the one hand, how the view of the statesman mingled in his mind with the more spiritual aspect of the Episcopate, how, exactly in accordance with the sentiments expressed so often by the martyr-King,<sup>1</sup> he looked to the political convenience of the order as well as to its primitive sanction. The following short extract may be taken as a type of much more:—

‘There is no question,’ said he, writing in 1646, ‘the clergy will always have an extraordinary influence upon the people; and, therefore, except there be an army kept on foot to govern both, as you will find there is in all places where the clergy have no power, there must be a way to govern the clergy absolutely, and keep it subject to the rules and orders of the State; which never was, nor never can be, without Bishops; so that civil prudence would make unanswerable arguments for that order if piety did not.’<sup>2</sup>

And, on the other hand, that higher notions on the subject of Episcopacy should prevail with Clarendon at and after the Restoration Settlement, will appear strange to no one who measures the effect of the famous *Seventh Book* of Hooker, which was published by Bishop Gauden at that time, and in which all that can be said for the absolutely primitive, if not Divine, authority of the Episcopate, was advanced as it had never yet been advanced by any one else. Like Clarendon’s own works half a century after his death, so this, coming after a still longer interval, also broke upon the land like the voice of a prophet speaking from the dead.

Under the second head, it would be easier to show than it was in Burnet’s time (though he had quite sufficient materials) how entirely the policy of the Minister towards Nonconformists must necessarily have been modified by the gradual disclosure of Charles II.’s character and intentions. As has been said, he himself was resolutely bent upon the restoration

<sup>1</sup> ‘Letters of Charles I.’ in *Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.

of the Church in its possessions, its sacred services, its ritual, its officers; but he was also for liberty of conscience. One fatal barrier intervened. It soon became apparent that the King and his immediate friends were the worst enemies of the Church of England, and that under the cloak of Indulgence Romanism was to be brought into that place which no friend of the Established Church could contemplate for a moment. The events of James II.'s reign are the best proof that they were right; the refusal of Baxter and his friends to accept a toleration in which the Papists were included is the best index of the national temper. In those two Stuart reigns toleration would really seem to have been impossible. The Church, as Clarendon saw, must not only be reinstated, but protected. Even after the Revolution, toleration was far enough from being complete. Years had yet to pass before the insidious attacks of Rome could be met on open ground and fair fight.

So also we may expect that Lord Clarendon will some day receive his due meed of praise for the bold and skilful way in which he, along with the 'sagacious and politic Sheldon,'<sup>1</sup> combined not only the various forces of Church and State together in harmonious action, not only exchanged the usurped autocracy of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters for a more limited and constitutional position, not only restored Parliament and Convocation to their due and proper places, but with a stroke of his pen swept away the separate power of self-taxation which the clergy had for so many ages exercised. This was the natural result of all he had seen and suffered; and that he carried all parties with him in the act may be judged by the fact that no voice was raised against the measure, the greatest, as Speaker Onslow and Bishop Gibson have said, ever passed in our country without an Act of Parliament. The memory of the Laudian régime was still too fresh in men's minds. Who could forget the Convocation of 1640 which attempted to supply the funds refused by Parliament, unless accompanied by a redress of just and real grievances, through the means of a Benevolence of the clergy to be levied on pain of excommunication? There had been enough, far more than enough, of separate action. All estates and powers were to be welded together in one system of taxation, on one territorial basis of freehold and copyhold tenure. A new, and yet the old, England was to commence its great career, and the clergy were to find their new and yet their old place in the system. The work of Edward the First in bringing the

<sup>1</sup> Ranke's *History of England*, iii. 362.

clergy within the general constitution of the realm was completed at last by Clarendon.

These broad outlines must suffice for the present sketch. It would be impossible here, if possible at all, to enter into a defence of this great man on every point. If he were perfect he would not be human. When he was falling headlong from his 'colossal' position, sinking under the weight of the hatred of the Cavaliers, who resented his honourable integrity, the ridicule of the contemptible minions about the court, the disgust of the King at his lofty moral elevation, the unpopularity of the Dutch war which he had done his utmost to prevent, the grief and distress of the nation at the Plague, the Fire of London, the blockade of the Thames, when friends were failing him, the gout torturing him, Parliament hunting him down, the mob erecting a gibbet before his gate, the popular feeling expressed itself in a scroll nailed to the gibbet, thus :—

'Three sights to be seen ;—

Dunkirk, Tangier, and a barren Queen.'

Most of the attacks made on Clarendon's memory are as groundless as these. The sale of Dunkirk was not his policy, and he got not a farthing for it. Tangier was no doubt a useless acquisition, but we should by no means have been justified in relinquishing it at that time. The idea that he promoted the King's marriage with a princess who could not bear him an heir in order that his own grandchildren might come to the Crown, has been thoroughly exposed, if indeed it was worth the trouble. We may regret the course he pursued on certain minor points, still more the way in which he defends and explains it in his over-anxiety to clear his character in the eyes of his children and descendants; but the treatment he has received from modern writers may be well illustrated by observing the way in which even Hallam allowed himself to deal with a well-known passage in his *Life*. After devoting some pages in his original edition to the exposure of what he believed to be Clarendon's dishonesty, he thought better of it many years later and confessed himself mistaken. No doubt he had made a great mistake; yet he left the whole of the former passage uncanceled, and merely appended a hesitating apology, if apology it can be called, of six lines!<sup>1</sup>

It requires, indeed, no extraordinary penetration to see that all who have political and religious reasons for detesting the Restoration Settlement must find some way of depreciating Clarendon. It is necessary for them to remove all impressions in his

<sup>1</sup> *Constitutional History*, ii. 363.

favour produced by his actual life or by his works. Repeating with variations every passing accusation, every morsel of contemporary gossip, they have, as we have said, succeeded only too well; but their chosen ground has been his immortal book, the *History of the Great Rebellion*. Nibbling attacks on this part and that have become a fashion. No allowance has been made for the circumstances under which different portions were composed. The harassed exile, in the midst of an internecine conflict, is supposed to be blamable for branding the revolutionists and communists of the day as enemies to the State, the delusive calm which preceded the rebellion as a time to be regarded with fond regret. It is in opposition to all this debased criticism that Ranke's judgment is so especially opportune. We will conclude this already too long article with an extract or two.

After endorsing Lord Campbell's remark that the '*History of the Great Rebellion* is the best work which exists upon contemporary history,' except that of De Retz—Cæsar being put aside as precluded from the comparison by his subject—and that it 'surpasses De Retz in dignity, in moral earnestness, and even in trustworthiness, though not in insight, or in gracefulness of style,' Ranke observes that—

'the three parts of Clarendon's work, in spite of their different character, form a whole, embracing the entire great period, and held together by the author's unity of view. It breathes the same spirit which inspired his administration, and won for it a continuous influence in English history. For the understanding of that history these works, in spite of their defects, are invaluable. They are the immediate product of the life of a great statesman, and everywhere bear traces of what he did or refrained from doing. It is perfectly true, as has been said, that it is difficult to tear oneself away from the book when once one is deep in it, especially the earlier sections; one converses with a living, intelligent, powerful spirit. His sketches of character are unequalled in the English language; they are by no means free from political colouring and party bias, but they are based upon a large view of human affairs, combine praise and blame very happily, and betoken a keen appreciation of the shades of qualities which appear in life. The narrative is pervaded by a tone of honest conviction, which communicates itself to the reader. It is as if one was listening to a venerable gentleman narrating the events of his life in a circle of friends. Clarendon's language is at once intelligible and forcible. In it we recognize one who was at home with the classics, and who found food for his soul in the Book of books.

'The effect which an historical work can have is, perhaps, nowhere seen more strongly than in the *History of the Rebellion*. The view of the event in England itself, and in the educated world generally, has been determined by the book. The best authors have



repeated it; and even those who combat it do not get beyond the point of view given by him. They refute him in details, but leave his view in the main unshaken. Clarendon belongs to those who have essentially fixed the circle of ideas for the English nation.<sup>1</sup>

This estimate of Clarendon and his works is decisive, and it cannot be crushed. Let us hope that we are drawing to an end of a period of historical writing which will do little credit to our literature. Let us distrust these modern assertions that Clarendon has 'poisoned the springs of history.' Let us rather learn to suspect that those who profess to use so subtle an analysis of our intellectual wells have themselves a design upon our political and religious life, a design of which, indeed, their followers have sometimes been unconscious, but which they have none the less promoted. In their attacks upon the Restoration Settlement and its authors they are aiming their shafts, as we have seen, at the establishment of the Church and at the Constitution of the realm. Perhaps those who value their noble inheritance may find as fair a field for their energies in restoring the true view of the Stuart period in the minds of the educated classes, as in the social, political, and religious combinations which the exigencies of the times are for ever requiring at our hands.

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#### ART. V.—CLASSICAL AND BYZANTINE— ST. PAUL'S, AND KEBLE CHAPEL.

1. *Account of the Proceedings at Keble College, on the occasion of the Dedication of the Chapel, and the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Hall and Library, on S. Mark's Day, 1876, with the Sermons and Speeches then delivered, and a Description of the Chapel.* (J. Parker & Co., Oxford and London.)
2. *The Archæology of Rome, with Photographs.* By JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B., Hon. M.A. Oxon, F.S.A. *The Catacombs.* (Parker, Oxford; Murray, London.)

THE title of this article may, we fear, be not very inviting to a good many readers. Even the term Christian Art is frequently under comment, both from Christians who have

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, vi. 28, 29.

suspensions about Art, and Artists who object to Christianity. The word Classical is a terror to the strictly Gothic or mediæval school of architecture and decoration; it is a word which seems to involve something pagan. As for Byzantine, it means 'of Byzantium;' and what else it expresses, is so really difficult and important a question, that we must try to elucidate it here.

In the first place, the term Byzantine is useful to us as opposed to Roman-Classical; though all early Byzantine art would have been, and was called Roman, and though Constantinople is called Rome to this day by millions in the Russian and Oriental Churches. Every archæologist will acknowledge that there is a difference, though he will often find it extremely difficult to define or maintain it, between late Roman-Classical art of Rome in Italy, and that of the Eastern Rome of Constantine. Byzantium was the centre of his Empire, and of Christendom alike, until Charlemagne was crowned a rival Emperor of the West. The popular idea, that all stiff rich work of the late Empire, particularly in mosaic, is derived from Constantinople, is perhaps not very inaccurate. But when the term 'Byzantine' is opposed, not to the term 'late Roman-Classical,' but to 'early Greek-Classical,' we see it in a new light, and it may teach us new lessons.

In one sense, Byzantine is the decadence of a decadence: it is Neo-Greek art, derived through Rome from the models of ancient Athens. The arts of Rome had always been in Greek hands; but when their seat was transferred to a Greek city, they regained the name of their true nationality. Whatever Athens and Argos may have learned from Egypt, their works are the source of all European architecture, sculpture, and painting. The Greek peripteral Temple developed or changed naturally into the Greek, and then the Roman Basilica for civil business and the work of common life; the Basilica became the type of Christian churches of the larger sort. The sculpture of the earliest and best Christian sarcophagi is good Greek work; the paintings of the most ancient Catacombs are graceful frescoes of vines and shepherds, resembling those of the cities of Magna Græcia.<sup>1</sup> The primitive age of the Church is the Augustan period of history; and such arts as the early Church cared to possess

<sup>1</sup> The typical Good Shepherd of the Catacombs (almost invariably in the act of bearing the sheep on his shoulders) is certainly derived from the Hermes Criophorus of Calamis. See O. Seemann: *Götter und Heroen*, Leipz. 1869, p. 79, and Raoul Rochette, *Discours sur l'origine des types imitatifs qui constituent l'art du Christianisme*.

are the arts of that period, already in a decadent condition as compared with the works of Phidias, and doomed to sink lower, even to destruction, and be re-created in her hands. But as the Greek language of words spoken and written was the vehicle of the Christian faith throughout the Roman world, so the Greek language of carved or painted idea was used from the first to express and impress the words of our Lord, and from the fourth century, at latest, to convey instruction as to Scriptural histories and recognized doctrine. The graphic arts were always in Greek hands : for her great constructive gifts to Architecture, the round arch and cupola vault, were all Rome ever gave to Art in the way of original invention. It was by the Greek or Eastern Rome, then, that the changed relics and half erased ideals of true or Attic art were preserved till the early Italian Renaissance; and the word Byzantine really means decadent or transformed Greek art as well as Roman. The word Classical, or Græco-Roman, will apply to all traces of the ancient forms or principles which remain from the Augustan age. And when Niccolò Pisano, worker in the Cathedral and Baptistry of his fair city, went on from the instructions of certain 'Greek' or Byzantine architects to study the freer and more natural forms of the 'Chase of Meleager,' lately brought from beyond seas in Pisan galleys, he went from Neo-Greek models back to the old. He returned to that rock of Pentelic marble from which he and all sculptors are hewn. Art had been fairly adopted by the Christian faith since Constantine, and had taken root and slowly grasped Italian soil for many a century. She flowered in his hands, and Cimabue's and Giotto's.

Two modern works of great importance have attracted due attention within the last few years : the greater remains a fragment, the lesser has been completed. The decoration of St. Paul's has become a weariness to the world, without ever being anything else. In the Chapel of Keble College, a single learned and inventive mind has had its full play, and the result is a work of great beauty and lofty instruction, not without its imperfections, but successful enough to form an æra in English church-decoration, by displaying its most important principles to all the world, inherited from the Nicene period. The first and great effect of the mosaics of Keble Chapel is, that they have begun to disarm the Anglo-Puritan suspicion of church art, by applying it to a primitive subject, and keeping it pretty well within the Scriptural cycle ; and we shall always remember the satisfaction of various Protestant members of the Oxford middle classes, as ex-

pressed to ourselves on S. Mark's Day last. But before entering on this subject, let us just point out that these two buildings, the Cathedral of our metropolitan city<sup>1</sup> and the College Chapel, are examples of two of the earliest types of the Christian Church, the *basilica* above ground, and the Catacomb church, or *cubiculum*, below;<sup>2</sup> that they may also be taken, as representing Classical and Byzantine church building;—and let us here assert that there is such a thing as Classical-Christian architecture. The statement would, perhaps, a few years ago, have been objected to by some of our friends, the Gothic School, but it will now, we think, be accepted as harmless, and in fact a truism.

It must not be for a moment denied that from Constantine's day, the fourfold or cruciform basilica, surmounted by its soaring cupola, began to symbolize and set forth the humiliation of the Body of Christ, and of His Church militant on earth, together with the Glory to which He ascended, and which He prepares for the Church triumphant. Byzantine architecture was thus essentially Christian from the first, and symbolic in its primary or constructive ideas. But Christians had built churches before, or hewn them in caves of the Roman tufa; and these sepulchral churches had had their ornaments, referring to the Lord's words of Himself as Vine and Shepherd; to His proclamation of a resurrection like Jonah's; to Moses and the Old Testament, as typical of Him. And some of the earliest of these works are as classical in their elegance, their naturalism, and their easy adaptation to constructive form, as Pompeian paintings, or those of the Pamphili Doria Villa, lately illustrated in Mr. Parker's *Photographs*.<sup>3</sup> They are too old to be archaic. It is the strange historical quality of Byzantine art to contain the archaism and early stiffness of the Christian Renaissance, mingled with imperishable fragments of the Classical decadence; but these are pure Greek ornaments, in a rather flowing domestic style, and without any ecclesiastical character. They are the symbols of a simple and implicit creed, not yet formulated for defence against experienced error. The sixth-century mosaics begin to embody solemn statements of doctrine; and as they link the primitive

<sup>1</sup> Canterbury, of course, is the Metropolitan Cathedral.

<sup>2</sup> Such buildings as Keble Chapel might be considered as derived from the *Cella Memoriae*; but in Christian hands these buildings partook of the character of the small sepulchral churches. A *Cella* was often the rudiment of a Catacomb when an area or burial-space was attached to it. See *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Photographs*, Nos. 1063-66.

ages of faith to the ages of theology at their origin, so at the other end they connect primitive doctrine with mediæval, by a gradual progress, which is illustrated and demonstrated in Mr. Parker's series of Photographs from the Roman mosaics. But in the oldest fragments of mosaics, as in the frescoes, there are well-marked traces of the skill of earlier Greece.

It will be seen how natural it was for the earliest churches of the faith to adopt classical ornament, not only in the first catacombs of Rome, but above ground, there and in other cities. They found it ready to their hands; they could hardly avoid it. They met in private basilicas or large chambers, belonging to richer members of the Church; at least, during the intervals of persecution they would do so. A part of the first and second century brickwork of such a hall in the actual house of Pudens<sup>1</sup> yet remains in the Church of S. Pudentiana at Rome, and will be found in Parker's *Photographs*. The value of this work to archæology and history can hardly be exaggerated. Whatever course inquiry may take as to the Wall of Servius or antiquities of the Republic, no one can doubt the importance of having facsimiles of the actual condition of works of primitive art. They bear the most important testimony as to character and doctrine, and they are irrefragable. Without underrating Mr. Parker's text, we can see that the study of the illustrations alone will be invaluable to the historian. It is like having original documents always at hand; the colours are faded and the outlines broken; there is much late work and much dolorous repainting; but there is a fair remainder from which primitive catechumens were instructed, and which express the faith of martyrs and confessors. The rules and limits of Christian art should be strictly laid down and honestly obeyed; but these reproductions prove that the Early Church no more denied herself the use of Art than the Anglican Church does of printing.

Frescoes of various subjects were the rule of Greek and Italian life; and the Church must have assembled within variously painted walls from the earliest date, at first without noticing or caring for their decorations. Questions of religious art may probably have come before the Church at a very early date, but they seem to have given little or no trouble. For the first three centuries image-worship meant the Paganism from which she had just emerged, and the sweeping invectives of Tertullian against all carved or pictorial repre-

<sup>1</sup> Parker's *Photographs*, Nos. 178, 1733-4. [For Church of S. Pudentiana, 178, 279-81, 388-9, 858, 1746-7.]

sentations whatever<sup>1</sup> are inspired by his dread of relapse into the worship of devils, not by fear of the yet unknown worship of saints. It is possible, too, that the Hebrew section of believers, in every congregation—for there probably was one in all the churches of the larger towns—might object to the representation of uncommanded or unprescribed figures in any place of worship; and the decree of the Council of Illiberis (*Can.* xxxvi.) probably gave form to suspicions which had long existed among Hebrew or Oriental Christians. But the distinction seems tolerably obvious between pictures which only repeated the Lord's words concerning Himself, or told the history of His life on earth, or explained its prefiguration by the Law and the Prophets, and idols set up for worship. The real and gross idolatry which surrounded the early Church taught her for awhile the vital difference between the harmful and the harmless. She even distinguished between gentile and pagan motives of art; and had no scruples in using the traditions of human skill. Her dead witnesses were buried, and the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ was celebrated among rude paintings of vines and shepherds, perhaps by heathen hands, which Christians understood with reference to Christ, and to which the heathen attached no meaning at all; and men who would have faced the fire or lions rather than burn incense to a marble Jove or deified emperor were little likely to be disturbed by the fear of becoming idolaters again by mistake or accident.

We may assert, then, that the Church accepted some kinds of classical ornament, as she did classical architecture, because it was there and a thing indifferent. And we have always thought, during our attendance for two or three years on the meetings of the Executive Committee for the Decoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, that the Anglican Church might do now as the Primitive Church did then. She may logically accept the quasi-classical interior of the great Church, and decorate it with the subjects of the earlier cycle of the Catacomb paintings, and in the best Grecian, Roman, or classical style, under the eye alike of the Dean and Chapter, and of Mr. Fergusson and the expert members of the Committee. Having been long personally interested in the completion of St. Paul's, and having watched that of Keble College Chapel with the faithful attention of an Oxford churchman, we cannot help connecting the two buildings in our thoughts, or asserting that the subjects, which in the modern-Byzantine Church are treated in mosaic like that of

<sup>1</sup> *De Idolatriâ* c. iii.



Torcello, would be the proper ones for St. Paul's, done in severe classical or Raffaellesque composition. There is no reason for disputing Mr. Fergusson's observation, in his Essay in the *Contemporary Review* of October 1875: 'One thing at least seems certain, that whatever ornament or colour is added to the interior of St. Paul's, it ought to be classic in design and feeling, as far as the æsthetic forms of the art are concerned; though the subject may express Christian feeling' (we should say faith or doctrine) 'in the same mode as is done by the ritual arrangements of the Church, which are not those of a classic temple.'

The difficulties in the way of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's seem hardly understood by the public, which has hitherto waited with commendable patience, but now begins to want to see something done. The Capitular Body is permanently and personally answerable for the success of the work, while the Executive Committee, a much more numerous assemblage, divide the responsibility between them, and cannot well suffer in reputation from any failure. It is impossible for the Chapter to place themselves entirely in the hands of a majority (or rather, as is required of them to do, of a determined minority) of the Committee; though no doubt practical unanimity on the part of the larger body, if it existed, might go far to determine the course taken by the smaller. But there has always been a division of classical feeling set against clerical; one party desiring artistically correct decoration according to architectural precedent; the other earnestly set on distinctively Christian ornament, as far as it can be used without offence against constructive beauty or architectural principle, which are, in fact, the same thing as regards the Cathedral. As principles, we have no doubt that these views may be carried out together, so as to please both parties, and that on the basis just quoted. There is a classical style of interior ornament of the late Augustan age; and it was unquestionably used by the Primitive Church; and even after Constantine's transfer of the seat of Empire and centre of the Church, that style continued in use, according to the diminishing skill and taste of the artists of the time, till it sank into technical barbarism, acquiring the name of Byzantine on its way. It became conventual and ascetic, but it had been religious all along, at its gracefullest. It is religious, we suppose, in the chapel and catacomb of the confessor Domitilla, and in those of S. Prætextatus and the earlier *cubicula* of S. Callixtus;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See De Rossi's or Northcote's *Roma Subterranea*, and Canon Venables' article 'Frescoes,' Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

but it is as graceful in these cemeteries as in the yet wider sepulchres of Pompeii and Herculaneum. It is religious, full of the spirit of Christian devotion and sacrifice, in the transitional mosaics<sup>1</sup> of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome, begun twenty years after Alaric. It is religious enough in the still highly classical ornament of Galla Placidia's Chapel at Ravenna, where the mosaic of the Good Shepherd is designed exactly like the Orpheus of the Catacombs, and the vine of the vaultings is the best example in existence of the Byzantine transition.<sup>2</sup> Classicalists and clericalists ought to embrace each other straightway; and we should, in common with the rest of the public, very much like to see them do it. The ornaments of S. Domitilla's tomb are not less Christian than those of Galla Placidia's, because they are lighter and more flowing. The correct drawing and well-judged proportions of classical art would not be Pagan or un-Christian in St. Paul's, they would only be right in the technical or artistic sense. While the Capitular Body chose their subjects, and arranged type, symbol, and history—let us say, on the principles of the Early Church just reasserted in Oxford—they would direct all the decoration to the glory of God once made manifest in the flesh. While the artistic body, or their executant workmen, plied brush or chisel, according to Raffaello or Brunelleschi, every man of them who earnestly believed the Faith would be engaged in a work of religious art, which, after all, depends for its sacredness on the personal heart and spirit of the artist, and not on his rules of construction or design.

Was there ever a great artistic competition, we ask, in remembrance of Brunelleschi, which did not involve dire debate between rival architects and their generally somewhat frenzied followers? Was not Ghiberti persistently set up against Brunelleschi in Florence, till the true architect took to his bed, and the works could not go on without him? Did not Bramante utterly thwart Michel Angelo's sculptural designs for the Sistine? Has the course of Mr. Stevens's great and noble work run smoothly, or has the contact of minds on that matter tended to mutual exasperation or otherwise? The fact is, the greatest works may be effected, and must almost always be begun, amid conflicting interests, with imperfect view of the end, and with much provocation. The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's have

<sup>1</sup> *Mosaics of S. M. Maggiore.* See Ciampini's *V. Monumenta*, vol. i. tab. l-lxi., and Parker's *Photographs*, Index of Churches.

<sup>2</sup> See D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments d'Architecture*, planche xv. and text. Also Ricci's *Photographs of Mosaics*. For S. Domitilla, see Northcote, *Rom. Subterranea*.

to suffer for all. But though the present non-result of their deliberations must be deeply painful to them, their mortification need only be that of lofty hopes deferred. A work may yet be effected under their auspices, with which their names may be long and honourably connected. They may, we think, accept the principle that there is a Classical-Christian style, Greek in origin, Roman by adoption; and that the more classical it is, the more Primitive Christian it is; and that it may be rightly employed in St. Paul's with the help of modern study, science, and art-power.

The success of the Keble mosaics may, we hope, have an important bearing on the whole subject of church-ornament in England. Of their artistic merits immediately: but the fact that their subjects disarm suspicion of 'idolatry' or iconolatry, and that they so nearly coincide with those of the Early Church, are still more important. These, as is agreed by De Rossi, and by Roman as well as Anglican antiquaries, are entirely Scriptural; and, in the first days, they are very largely taken from the Old Testament. Lord Lindsay remarks on the taste of the Roman Christians for symbolic teaching. They certainly dwelt with special interest on all types of our Lord in the Law and the Prophets, and on the record of all events which received Messianic fulfilment, or bore on the New Testament history. '*Lex antiqua novam firmat, veterem nova complet,*' wrote Paulinus of Nola, near the end of the fourth century. It was only following the examples of S. Peter on the day of Pentecost, and of S. Paul before Agrippa, to set before the spectator's eye the recent events of the Lord's life, and bid him understand their correspondence with the Hebrew record. It would be exactly the course of teaching likely to be adopted in congregations like those of Rome, where a Hebrew nucleus always existed, possessing great influence, earnestly devoted to their own sacred books, and really standing in some respect as witnesses and schoolmasters to their Gentile brethren. As has been said, they had not only the Greek phonetic language of writing and speech in common, but the still wider and often more powerful means of picture-teaching. There certainly are traces of significant ornament from the end of the first century, if we take the pictures of S. Domitilla's tomb at the date assigned them by Dr. Mommsen;<sup>1</sup> and it seems highly pro-

<sup>1</sup> Dated bricks, he says, demonstrate the tomb to be earlier than the time of Hadrian; and though the case is not absolutely complete, there is strong probability that the tomb was actually made for S. Domitilla, the grandniece of Vespasian.

bable that they may have been used for subjects of exhortation and catechetical lecture to neophytes of different race and language. The constant appeal to Psalms, Prophets, and Law, often by Hebrew teachers using the Greek language—using it, perhaps, to Italians chiefly speaking Latin—would go far to explain the use of pictures to assist the preacher.

The intensity of Christian belief in the spiritual government of the world would lead men to feel that worldly events resembled each other as parts of the work of the same Ruler. The habit of the Christian instructed in Hebrew history is to note its contact with his faith; and indeed, in the events of secular history also, to watch 'Time's full river as it flows,' and mark, as far as he can, how God's partly revealed purpose may be working towards His end. It was natural, again, that the deeper and mightier truths of the faith should be very gradually committed to the trust of catechumens, or concealed from the contradiction and blasphemy of persecutors. Hence, most probably, these two predominant features of the earliest cycle of Primitive Art, which Mr. Hemans brings forward most clearly—reserve and symbolism. The primitive painter does not 'represent some subjects invested with the most awful sacredness, as the Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, the institution of the Eucharist; and also, there is a prevailing mysticism, which always leads the painters to prefer such themes, in miracle, type, or historic incident, as suggest more than they represent; for, in fact, the more frequently recurring scenes always imply a truth or principle addressed to the believer, and lying far too deep for the apprehension of the multitude. In sculpture this is more strikingly carried out'—and he instances the great sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, bearing consular date A.D. 359. A short enumeration of its subjects will give an idea of the didactic art of the Classical cycle, before Eastern asceticism had set that stamp of earnest severity on Christian art, which we call the Byzantine type of it. Technically speaking, this sarcophagus is a very beautiful work of late Classical art: somewhat overloaded with quasi-architectural ornament, but with two ranges of sculptural panels which might be of pure Athenian carving; the figures graceful and athletic, with the slight severity or moderation of the best time. It is singular too, that the lower canopies of the panels are alternately circular and pointed: so that Greek meets with the germ of Christian Gothic in this strangely beautiful work, which cannot be photographed, unfortunately, from its position in the crypt of St. Peter's, but will be found

in Bosio's or Aringhi's *Roma Subterranea* (lib. ii. c. x. p. 277), or in the later work of Bottari (tav. xv.), in which the same plates were again used. The chief subjects are historic: the principal and central one is that of the Saviour, in form a beautiful youth (the ideal of 'Fairest of all men,' and not the ascetic one, always prevails on the sarcophagi). He is seated between two Apostles, with His feet upon the earth, this latter being personified as an old man just emerging from the ground.<sup>1</sup> The sacrifice of Abraham, the sufferings of Job, the fall of Adam and Eve, Daniel in the Lions' den, the entry into Jerusalem, Pilate washing his hands, and the arrest and denial of S. Peter (most probably), are the subjects on the panels. But on the spandrels of the dividing pilasters are curious symbolisms of the Lamb performing acts mystically chosen from the Old and New Testament. He is baptizing, striking water from the rock, multiplying the loaves, raising Lazarus, receiving the tablets of the Law. This may represent the latest typical work of the Christian Classical style and its early cycle of Scriptural subjects. Another fine sarcophagus of the fourth century, the large one brought from St. Paul's without the walls of Rome to the Lateran, shows dangerous innovation in subject: attempt being made at representing all three Persons of the Holy Trinity under human aspect, with identity of type and strongly marked and severe features, indicating middle age. It bears historical and sacramental images, in common with so many earlier works, and its workmanship is in tolerable style, but crowded, and without the Greek grace of the tomb of Junius Bassus.

We know that great difficulties of feeling have to be surmounted before the Classical style can be considered Christian, particularly according to its interpretation by the masters of the later Renaissance of the Cinquecento. The third volume of the *Stones of Venice* expresses both Catholic and Puritan feeling about much of their work. Again, very much has been learnt about the subjects and character of Classical Christian decoration since the time of Brunelleschi or Bramante; and to ignore all that knowledge in restoring St. Paul's would be a public act of indifference to Christianity, which neither of them would have allowed, and to which the name Pagan might be applied. The writer has always felt the necessity of caution in the use of this word, and he thinks Gentile, Ethnic, or Heathen are often better: since 'Pagan' implies having

<sup>1</sup> More probably the Old Man represents Uranus, the Firmament, and there is reference to Ps. xviii. 9, 'It was dark under his feet,' or to Rev. i. 7, so often set forth in the mosaics, and last in Keble Chapel.

seen and hated the Christian Faith, or being so degraded as to be unable for the time to receive it. But such a word is not provoked by the Classical construction of the late Renaissance, but by its monumental pomps and vanities; to which we fear nothing short of the grim reprobation of the Oxford Slade Professor can do adequate justice.

If we were not sufficiently aware of the necessity of preserving the full effect of architectural line and proportion in the Cathedrals, Mr. Fergusson's paper is convincing on the point. He proves that it is *architecturally* wrong to conceal a fine material like Portland stone; as it is *morally* wrong to try to disguise bad material by a rich outer coating. (That is to say, it is not necessarily wrong to encrust good brickwork with marble, but it is very much so to encrust *bad* brickwork.) But fine stone ought never to be concealed.

In St. Mark's, at Venice, and elsewhere, brick is encrusted with marble in good faith, and with perfect propriety. In Keble Chapel, the earnest honour of the architect in exhibiting his fine brickwork and ceramic interior ornament has this unfortunate effect, that its red colour and polish overpower the beautiful russet marble disks and panels. Green serpentine would be much preferable in the small spandril inlayings of its eastern end. St. Mark's, at Venice, is not built in adherence to rules of constructive science, and stands blameless. But in a stone basilica, the material is matter of constructive morality, and must be properly displayed.

What the clerical mind feels is, that a principal part of the attention of their decorators must be directed to ornament significant of religious truth. Allowing full scope to the artistic or professional view, when anybody can clearly enounce it, or when any number of artists and their friends can tell the public what it is like, the Dean and Chapter will have to insist on their professional view, which is, that the decoration of the Cathedral ought to be instructive in spiritual truth, historically or by means of primitive and well-understood symbolism.

It is hardly necessary to refer Church architecture, with Lord Lindsay, to three types or rudiments, the *basilica*, the *cubiculum* (or, indeed, the *arcosolium*) of the Catacombs, and the Roman *cella memoriae*. We think that the *cubiculum* was virtually a Christian memorial chapel to the witnesses who lay around, and that a division of primitive temples into above-ground and under-ground will be found to agree sufficiently with that of the *History of Christian Art*. The constructive difference between one type and the other is that the *basilica*



stands on walls, piers, and columns, and is subject to architectural rule; the chapel is, or ought to be, of such a size, and have walls of such proportional strength as to be as strong as a mountain cavern, and owe no allegiance to constructive rule. Then, in their decoration, the principal difference seems to turn on light. In Northern architecture (except in the Scandinavian or extreme North), the builder will want above everything to let it in; in Southern he will be rather inclined to shut it out. But the Catacomb chapel could not obtain it from without, and depended entirely on artificial light, never admitting any flood of sunshine, or occupying any space of its walls with transparent colour and transmitted splendour. Its conditions carried out the Southern or Eastern objection to too much light quite absolutely. The *fossor* of the catacombs began from the sepulchral darkness of the tufa-lithoid; the architect of the *basilica* began *sub Dio*; one worked from white to black, the other from black to white, or from earth-shadows to sunlight. The subterranean artist then had to trust entirely to the opaque colour of his walls; the other soon began to look for colour in his windows, and to enjoy transparent or transmitted hues. And hence it is, as all know, that mosaic is felt to be specially adapted to small or dark churches, and yet is so freely and fitly used in large churches all over the East and in Italy. The Southern architect must exclude the glare of noonday, his apertures will be like stars or light-flowers in his solid walls, and he will sheet the latter with fair mosaic if he can. But his mosaic will be significant, and must tell its tale, and it is quite necessary that very plain people should be able to see with little assistance what it is about. Therefore he is driven to use gold or silver grounds to obtain reflected light; and pure and powerful colours for brilliancy (or *éclat*, as the French say, happily possessing a word which expresses clearness alike of sound, light, and colour). And on this stands the great artistic difference between the mighty mosaics of Rome, Ravenna, and Torcello, and the important modern efforts we have now to describe. The ancient inlayings are in the purest and richest colours; the new ones are in half-tint. It may be true, that for a large or light church half-tint mosaics are better than the glowing work of old days. Those of Keble Chapel are beautiful to our heart's content. But then follows the question—and it is a most weighty one to the future decorator of St. Paul's—are the walls and the windows both to be works of colour, and which are to take the lead? The windows at present prevail at Keble to a degree which is painful to us. We cannot think them good, and they

are far too much for the mosaics at all times, especially early and late in the day. Their reds greatly overpower their other hues, so that the glass itself is at variance with itself. It will be observed, and not only in Keble, but in the new and grandly designed northern window at Christ Church, that the scarlet colour is so powerful as to be quite in a different plane from the meagre yellows, acrid greens, and mauvish blues. It is very strange what a reaction there always is against really beautiful work. It is resisted as an innovation; counter-interests are worked against it, it becomes a fashion, perhaps; and then everybody tries to get it to pass away as vanity along with vanity. It does seem to us extraordinary how a Governing or Capitular Body could have Mr. Morris's and Burne Jones's eastern windows in Christ Church Cathedral, and not go on in that style. And how anybody who was aware of the existence of these works could put such shallow and glaring lights into the Keble mullions, is another of the many things which we do not know.

Both architects and patrons will have to make up their minds that style, light, and colour are all interdependent variables; that is to say, that they must affect each other, and should do so harmoniously; and that this depends on whether one leading idea is carried out by them all, and, above all, on how powerfully that idea may reach into detail, and command its execution. Mr. Butterfield has made his own style, and done it gallantly, and with beautiful result. We have not the least objection to brick and stone together, or to pointed arches and Byzantine mosaic together. It is our duty to pick what holes we can in his work, for if we are not critical, we are nothing. But we think he did not quite mean his chief colour-impressions to come through his glass, but to be inlaid on his walls. The mosaics are good hues enough, but hue depends on contrast; half-tints have only half-contrast, and the vehement colour-repulsions of the east and west windows are too much for the tender colour-relief of the walls. Walls and windows cannot both go first as vehicles of colour, and the risk of inventing an eclectic style between Southern Byzantine and Northern Gothic is this, that the walls *will* go first in the Southern work, and the windows won't go second in the Northern part of the building. As a pointed architect, Mr. Butterfield would depend on his windows for colour—as a horizontal one, on his walls. This question of walls and windows is, in fact, the same as the question of Northern and Italian Gothic, or of aspiring and horizontal architecture. Without addressing Mr. Butterfield

as Bezonian, one cannot help seeing that this is an effort on both sides. Within the walls he has his high-pointed stonework upwards, and his altogether lovely flower-cornice in white alabaster all round. Without, he has his lofty buttresses, high niches and pinnacles, and his horizontal bands along the building: the principal one a zigzag, which combines pointedness and horizontality. We think him quite right, because his results are, or will be, beautiful; but they are certainly open to comment from his brother architects, and will doubtless receive as much of it as may be good for them.

If any one doubts the peculiar fitness of mosaic for interior wall ornament, or the statement that either walls or windows must take a lead in decoration, we should wish him to see the interior of Keble Chapel, when fully, but not too brightly, lit up for evening service. Then the mosaics have their way and show their power; then, in their severity and splendour, they make one understand what real and good Christian art is and always has been; rich, genuine, imposing, and historic, intelligible to learned and unlearned; weighted with meaning and devotion; full of the grandeur of sacrifice, and that not of gold and silver only, but of a yet more precious possession, the inventive heart and mind of the artist. This is, as Professor Ruskin said of St. Mark's at Venice, an illuminated building and book-temple; and we hope to see equal brilliancy in its own style given to St. Paul's Cathedral.

Mr. Butterfield's own account of his work is now in the hands of the public, and should be carefully studied by all who enter Keble Chapel. It forms part of the interesting little memorial volume, edited by the Rev. Walter Lock, which stands at the head of this article. We cannot deal with its yet more interesting report of Dr. Pusey's and Dr. Liddon's sermons; but the recollections of that day will not be easily effaced, we think, from the mind of any communicant of that morning, or attendant on the day's services. Many men of different thoughts met that day to feel themselves one after all; and very different natures, as in the Ark of old, succeeded in suspending their differences in a Presence greater than their own.

There are a few more remarks to make as to the subjects of the mosaics. They are those of the second or Byzantine period of Christian art to the 13th century, and our sketch (on the next page) contains the earliest dates at which they are found; the word *passim* being used for a subject of unknown antiquity and very frequent occurrence, in painting, sculpture, or MS.

*Keble College Chapel Mosaics.*

## EAST.

*(New Testament.)*

Our Lord in Glory, Rev. i. (as from 6th century).

3 Saints.

3 Saints.

3 Saints.

3 Saints.

The Crucifixion

Resurrection

(6th century subjects, Rabula MS.). (6th century subjects, Rabula MS.).

3 Panels { Baptism } 6th century.  
 { Nativity } Rabula MS.  
 { Annunciation  
 (5th century,  
 S. Maria Maggiore).

Organ.

## NORTH.

## Chancel Steps.

## SOUTH.

*(Old Testament.)*

Passim.	{	Rock of Moses.	Joseph's Dream.	} Ravenna Ivory, 6th cent.
		Brazen Serpent.	Joseph sold into Egypt.	
Passim.	{	Tables of the Law.	His Brethren before him.	
Ravenna, 6th cent.	{	Abraham and the Three.	Building the Ark.	} Noah, passim.
Passim.	{	Sacrifice of Isaac.	Sacrifice of Noah.	
Ravenna, 6th cent.	{	Melchisedech.	Entering the Ark.	

2 Angels.

2 Angels.

The Lost.

(12th century.)

The Saved.

The Judgment.

S. Michael,

below

The Lord.

## WEST.

These pictures may be called classical, in the sense of their being in severely correct drawing; they are, in fact, original work. But the Great Judgment at the west end connects them with Torcello and Venice, rather than with the

earlier works of Rome and Ravenna. How far the *Schola Græca* at Rome (formed or greatly strengthened by fugitives from iconoclastic persecution in the eighth century) extended Byzantine art in Italy, or how far the Exarchate may have done so, is hard to determine, and a standing subject of dispute. But Lord Lindsay's statement (vol. ii. last ch.) can hardly be disputed, that the revival of the Eastern Empire under the Comneni gave rise to new and grand efforts in mosaic, of which that at Torcello is the chief survivor. The Keble mosaics are certainly impressed by this and the early work in St. Mark's. Their combination of apparent archaism, force, and earnestness of impression with technical skill and good drawing, is, to say the least, both Christian and artistic in the highest degree. We might have preferred the primitive cycle of subject, or asked that the feasts should be followed round the seasons, as in the Christian year, with its poetic zodiac of fair images. Nevertheless the selection is good, and the cardinal principle of reference from the New Testament or Dispensation to the Old, comparison of type with antitype, holds the highest place, as in the elementary theology of Oxford in all past years. The history of man, the Law, and the Prophets of Israel, bear witness to Christ. At the east end is the form of the Lord, as in the opening Apocalypse, and according to the use of Church art, from the sixth-century days of affliction all through the blackness of five more ages. He is come to His sanctuary with clouds, He is present with those who meet to call upon Him. Twelve Saints attend upon Him in the two panels on each side of the Church. The other mosaics in their order are represented in the preceding sketch.

We own that we wish the Good Shepherd had not been wanting, nor the symbolic Jonah. But there is little more, except to record our admiration of the choice material of the choir incrustations, of the beauty of the slightly modernized Byzantine birds and flowers on its cornice, and the exquisite red and green marbles in particular; again regretting that the colours of the windows should prevail as they do by daylight over such lovely and genuine hues. It is not so by lamplight, at all events. The red marble seat (for assisting clergy, we suppose) along the eastern wall, reminds us of that round the apse of Torcello. The light colours of the roof, in themselves well chosen, seem to us highly interesting, from the lofty and soaring effect they produce on the eye. This is another feature of the architect's ingenious determination to give his spectator soaring and horizontal lines, at one and in har-

mony ; in which we must say he appears to us to have achieved no small success.

The exterior of Keble College Chapel is hardly a fair subject for criticism at present, for various reasons. It will be seen to have the great advantage of being a church of itself and by itself ; and those who will compare it (and Balliol Chapel) with others which are too obviously only a part of College buildings, will see how much is gained accordingly. Architecturally, the building is a daring and, in many respects, a successful attempt to reconcile the aspiring and the horizontal construction and their associated ornament. Its effect of height, and the manner in which it towers over the rest, must not be unfavourably judged of ; for it will, we presume, be balanced, and the whole composition perfected, by a lofty hall and library. The change of pattern towards the top, and the larger use of white stone, undoubtedly gives lightness ; and seems to taper the weight, and to the eye diminish the thrust of the weighty roof and upper wall. The quatrefoil is ordinary, but not disagreeable. The zigzags and bands of all the College buildings will look better and better the more there is of them, and the more continuous they are made all round the quadrangles. The sculpture will gain greatly by time and weather : and the green Oxford mosses which always gather on brickwork, will greatly improve the colour and effect. We own we cannot imagine what necessity there can be for having such a highly conventional Lamb in the tympanum over the door, and making the most solemn of Christian images utterly grotesque, when the exterior is ornamented with pretty, modern-classical statues, chiefly at too great height for their effect.

This building is really for posterity, and its architect knows it will look more beautiful to our children than to us. We have really said everything we can say to its disparagement, within and without ; and we advise malcontents to console themselves, as we do, by considering Mr. Butterfield's other College chapel. Old Oxford men will remember various highly facetious comparisons about decorated dog-kennels, Saracen minarets, and walls of best streaky pork. They had their day, and if there is not much wit in common-room jokes, in this instance there was no harm. But no one in his senses will deny now that, outside and inside, that building is one of the most beautiful, as well as most strikingly original, of all small churches. And we hope the same verdict will be passed a quarter of a century hence, if not sooner, on the larger chapel which enshrines the memory of the author of the *Christian Year*.



ART. VI.—MEDIÆVAL FOLKLORE—GERVASE OF  
TILBURY.

1. *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium.* Ed. G.W. LEIBNITZ. (Hanoviæ, 1707.)
2. *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia. . . neu herausgegeben. . . von FELIX LIEBRECHT.* (Hannover, 1856.)
3. *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum. Excerpta ex Otiis Imperialibus Gervasii Tileburiensis.* Edidit JOSEPHUS STEVENSON, 1875.

OF all those who pass Tilbury on the Thames, and are at once reminded of Queen Elizabeth and the Armada, few indeed, we suspect, are carried by the associations of the place to a remoter past, or recall so much as the name of the very remarkable and amusing writer, whose *Otia Imperialia* we propose to discuss in the present article. It is possible that the Tilbury at which Gervase was born, and from which he took his distinctive name, was not the well-known place where the great Queen harangued her troops, but the Tilbury near Yeldham, in Essex, which gave a title to Sir Horace Vere, the first and last 'Lord Vere of Tilbury,' whose reputation, like that of his brother Sir Francis, was made in the Low Country wars of the sixteenth century. But this is quite uncertain, and either Tilbury might fairly call up recollections of Gervase. He is best,—it may be said that except to a very few students of mediæval life and history, he is only—known by some half-dozen extracts and translations inserted by Sir Walter Scott in the notes to his longer poems, and 'discovered' for him, in all probability, by the research and curiosity of Leyden. These passages are so picturesque and amusing, and they illustrate so remarkably the belief of the writer and of his age, touching the supernatural,—we must hardly say the 'unseen'—world, that they ought long since, we should have imagined, to have led some competent scholar to supply us with a complete edition of the *Otia Imperialia*. But even now this is wanting. Leibnitz, from whose folio volumes Leyden or Scott made their extracts, printed only a certain portion of the *Otia*,—after all, connected in but a sidelong fashion with *Res Brunsvicenses*. Liebrecht gives us

even less, but has enriched his edition, if it is so to be called, with valuable notes and appendices; and Mr. Stevenson, in the volume recently edited by him for the Master of the Rolls, has contented himself with 'excerpta' bearing mainly on the history of the period embraced in the Chronicle of the Cistercian, Ralph of Coggeshall. What we have in print, however, is quite sufficient to set before us a writer who, if not different in mind and in feeling from others of his period, has certainly brought out certain phases of mediæval belief in a manner and at a length quite without parallel. There are few early chroniclers or historians who do not eagerly welcome such marvels and prodigies as come naturally in their way. Even William of Newburgh, philosophical enough to reject with scorn the figments of Geoffrey's *British History*, records with much precision the appearance of certain green children (*virides pueri*) out of the wolf-pits near Bury St. Edmunds, and the pranks of various mischievous elves who tormented the clergy of Lincoln. In most cases, however, the marvels of the chroniclers are confined to the cloister or to persons and places immediately connected with the Church; and their notices of such things are incidental. Gervase makes them his special subject; his range is by no means narrowed by the cloister; he writes from the point of view of a layman, highly cultivated for his time, and from his rank and position able to command a wide range and horizon. Occasional notices of himself and of his wanderings are scattered through the *Otia*, and from these sources we obtain nearly all the information we have about him.

Whichever Tilbury may claim the honour of having been the birthplace of Gervase, he was born in the latter half of the twelfth century, probably about the year 1165. Of his family nothing is known, and the only reason for supposing him to have been of noble birth is that otherwise the Emperor would hardly have made him what he afterwards became—Marshal of the Kingdom of Arles. However this may be, he was at first designed for the priesthood; and was sent out of England at an early age to join the *familia* of William, Archbishop of Rheims. How long he remained among the Archbishop's clerks is unknown: but during his stay at Rheims he was personally concerned, not much to his credit, in an affair which he described long afterwards to Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall, who has inserted the story in his Chronicle.<sup>1</sup> It contains such a dash of the marvellous as seems to present itself

<sup>1</sup> 'Sicut ab ejus ore audivimus postea, cum canonicus esset.'—R. de Coggeshall, *Chron. Anglicanum*, p. 122.

as a matter of course in any narrative by Gervase. Archbishop William, a great and splendid prelate, uncle of the King, Philip Augustus, was one day riding outside the city of Rheims, attended by his 'clerks,' among whom was Master Gervase. As they passed onward the young Englishman saw a damsel of great beauty walking alone in a vineyard. He turned aside to talk to her, and found at last from her words that she belonged to the 'impious sect of the Publicans,' who were then agitating both France and England.<sup>1</sup> They seem to have been ignorant countrymen—'*idonii*,' '*poplicola*,' '*rusticani*,' they are called by the chroniclers—who held opinions bordering on Manichæism;—and the Archbishop, when he found the pair in converse, and received the excuse or the explanation of Gervase, ordered the maiden to be brought to his palace, where she was confronted by a company of learned clerks and doctors. She had herself, she told them, no skill and no knowledge wherewith to defend herself; but she had a mistress (*magistra*) in the city who well knew how to defend her teaching. This *magistra* was accordingly sought out. She proved deaf to all the arguments of the Archbishop or his doctors: and after a short imprisonment both she and her pupil were condemned to the stake as impracticable heretics. The pile was ready, and the victims were passing through the galleries of the palace towards it, when the *magistra* cried out—'Unjust and foolish judges! do ye think to burn me in your fires? I do not fear them.' As she spoke, she took a ball of thread (*glomum fili*) from her bosom and flung it from a window, keeping one end of the thread in her hand, and calling loudly, 'Take, take!' Then she threw herself on the thread, and in an instant she was drawn through the window, and disappeared,—aided, suggests the chronicler, by the same evil spirits who once raised Simon Magus into the air. Gervase does not imply that he witnessed the disappearance of the witch; but we gather that he was himself present at the burning of her pupil, who suffered with the utmost constancy, '*instar martyrum Christi, sed disparili causa*.<sup>2</sup>

In the household of Archbishop William, and while in training for the priesthood, Gervase laid the foundations of the learning by which he was afterwards distinguished, and which was so unusual an accomplishment for a layman. He

<sup>1</sup> Some of the Publicani who made their appearance at Oxford were, on conviction, branded on the forehead with a red-hot iron, and driven from the city.

<sup>2</sup> R. de Coggeshall.

had read, as we find from his books, many of the old historians and poets, and some of the Fathers of the Church. But he soon gave up all thoughts of the priesthood for himself; and we find him, still as a youth, teaching Canon Law at Bologna, when he had Giovanni Pignatelli, afterwards Archdeacon of Naples, among his auditors.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, impossible to determine the exact dates, and consequently the order of the various changes and wanderings indicated in different passages of the *Otia*. Gervase was at Rome when a boy (*puer*), during the papacy of Alexander III.; and in the year 1177 he witnessed at Venice the reconciliation before the portal of St. Mark's, of that Pope and the Emperor Frederick I. It is to be observed that Gervase says nothing of the insolent behaviour of the Pope, or of the famous 'conculcatio,' which almost all good writers agree in regarding as a fable; but that, on the contrary, he praises the moderation and patience of Alexander.<sup>2</sup> We find him afterwards in the service of William, the 'good' King of Sicily, who had married a daughter of our Henry II.; and then at Naples, probably in 1190, since he tells us that the siege of Acre was still pending, and that place was taken in July 1191. But before this he had been in the family of the son of Henry II. of England, that young King Henry whose coronation in the lifetime of his father played such an important part in the closing scenes of the life of Becket. For Prince Henry Gervase compiled a *Liber Facctiarum*, which no longer exists; and it must have been after the Prince's death, in 1189, that he entered the service of Otto, first Duke of Brunswick, nephew of Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony. The second son of this Duke Henry was chosen Emperor at Cologne in 1198, and after much struggling and debate was crowned at Rome in 1209 as Otto IV. The Emperor's mother was Matilda, daughter of Henry II. of England. He had himself been much in England, and by his grace and valour had attracted the special notice of his uncle, Richard

<sup>1</sup> 'Civitatem advenimus' (Neapolim) 'in hospitio venerabilis auditoris mei in jure canonico apud Bononiam, Johannis Pinatelli, Neapolitani archidiaconi.'—*Otia Imp.* decisio iii. c. 12.

<sup>2</sup> 'In consilio siquidem Veneto pœnitentem Imperatorem ad sinum matris Ecclesiæ regressum intuiti sumus; cum summa humilitate stolam per manus sanctissimi Papæ Alexandri, quam dedit Pater pœnitenti filio, recepisset.'—*Otia Imp.* decisio ii. The old story ran, that the Pope placed his foot on the neck of the Emperor, with the words, 'Super aspidam et basiliscum ponam pedes nostros;,' and that Frederick replied, 'Non tibi, sed Petro.' But this, and many other circumstances assigned to this famous meeting, cannot be traced higher than the fourteenth century.

Cœur-de-Lion, through whose money and influence his election as Emperor was in great measure procured. Gervase, it is quite possible, had known the future Emperor either in England or in the Norman courts of the Kings Henry and Richard. The connection of Gervase with the young Henry, and with King William of Sicily, who had married another daughter of Henry II., indicates that he stood high in the favour of the English court; and it was perhaps due to this favour and influence that Otto IV., to all appearance some time before his own solemn coronation, made him Marshal, that is, in effect, Governor, of the Kingdom of Arles. With this kingdom he had already become connected through his wife, whose name is unknown, but who was the heiress of large estates there.<sup>1</sup> It was during his life at Arles that he compiled the three books of the *Otia Imperialia* for the amusement and edification of the Emperor Otto, to whom he sent them in the year 1211. How long after that date he remained at Arles we do not know. His wife died; and probably at her death her lands and possessions passed away from Gervase. Either in France or in England he then became a 'Canonicus,'—a somewhat vague term, which may perhaps imply, though we have no direct evidence of its having been so, that he had entered a house of Augustinian Canons.<sup>2</sup> It was at this time that he fell in, perhaps renewing an old acquaintance, with Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall, who heard from him the marvellous story of the witch of Rheims. The place and year of Gervase's death are alike unknown.

Gervase had a considerable reputation as a soldier, as well as a man of learning. 'Marte et arte claruit,' says Leibnitz; and the union in those days was by no means an ordinary one. It gives an especial value to his books, in so far as they illustrate the belief of his time from the point of view of a very able layman, who had seen much, and had been brought into contact with many of the great men who were then conspicuous in Europe, and were making the history of the age. The wonders of the *Otia* are not the collection of an ordinary story-teller, alive to nothing but the effect of the tale he has to tell, without learning or judgment, and quite incapable of seeing beyond his own province or even his own village. They take a very different character when we find

<sup>1</sup> 'In palatio nostro' (at Arles) 'quod ex vestro munere vestrâque gratiâ ad nos rediit per sententiam curiæ imperialis, Princeps excellentissime, propter jus patrimoniale uxoris nostræ.'—*Otia Imp.* decisio iii. c. 92. He calls Humbert, Archbishop of Arles, 'affinis noster,' iii. c. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Unless 'canonicus' is to be understood as signifying a reader or teacher of the Canon law—which is just possible.

them detailed by a man of wide experience and of much learning, whose critical judgment, whenever he dwells on the events of his own time, shows that he was fully capable not only of distinguishing between the truth and falsehood of such matters as came before him, but of discussing them with a gravity and dignity far above the flight of the ordinary chronicler. In the *Otia*, for example, when the occasion presents itself, he does not shrink from touching on the struggle between the Emperor Otto and the Pope, Innocent III.; and exhorts each to give to the other what was fairly his due.<sup>1</sup> This he does with a certain moderation and sobriety which command the approbation of even his editor, Leibnitz; who elsewhere characterizes Gervase as 'mirificentissimus et superstitionissimus fabulator.' There is no doubt that throughout the life of Gervase, and wherever he travelled, he was especially attracted by the marvellous and the supernatural, and that the judgment he brought to bear on these things was something very different from that which he exercised on the ordinary events of life. But it is just this which makes his book so curious and so valuable. It is a picture, not so much of the mind of Gervase himself, as of the general attitude of the thirteenth century towards the usually (in writing of that time the ordinary expression must be qualified) unseen world of spirits, good and bad, elves, goblins, and demons; and towards those less frequent displays of nature which modern science has interpreted for us, but which were full of wonder and of mystery in days when science itself was still in the hands of astrologers and alchemists. Probably there was no time when the mediæval love of the marvellous was more fully developed than this first half of the thirteenth century, the great age in which the life of Europe was stirring so vigorously in every direction, in which art in all its branches received so much fresh development, and in which the true freedom of national life was so greatly strengthened from the foundations. Yet it is this century, and that simply from its strong leaning towards the marvellous, that Leibnitz is pleased to characterize

<sup>1</sup> He was, however, an uncompromising upholder of what he believed to be the Papal rights. He exhorts Otto to show himself 'innocens Innocentio,' and then goes on—'profecto imperium tuum non est, sed Christi; non tuum, sed Petri. Non à te tibi obvenit, sed à vicario Christi et successore Petri. . . . Nihil amittis quod tuum est, si dimittis Petro quod suum.' So the 'minnesinger,' Walther von der Vogelweide, who was at this time a liege servant of Otto IV., urges, in one of his short poems, the division of authority, 'that being given to God which is God's, and that to the Kaiser which is his.' But Walther was a hater of the Pope, and would hardly have accepted the position of Gervase.



as 'omnium sæculorum post Christum ineptissimum.' Few now-a-days would be inclined to echo his words; but we shall understand the belief and the folklore (using those words in their widest sense) of the age much better after an examination of the *Otia*. It should here be added that this is the only work of Gervase's which remains to us, and the great popularity of it is shown by the number of manuscripts in existence. It is known that while at Arles he wrote a book *De vitâ beatæ Virginis et Discipulorum Jesu*, with especial reference to those local legends, sure to have caught his attention, which bring Lazarus and the Magdalene, with others of the holy personages, to the shores of the Gulf of Lyons, and land them in the Camargue, at the place still known as 'Les Saintes Maries.'<sup>1</sup> The very important treatise entitled *Dialogus de Scaccario* was for a considerable period attributed to Gervase of Tilbury, until Madox, editing the *Dialogus* for his *History of the Exchequer*, showed that he could not be the real author. It is now known that the *Dialogus* is the work of Richard FitzNigel, Bishop of London from 1189 to 1199, and Treasurer of the Exchequer,—a graver, if not a wiser man than Gervase.

The *Otia Imperialia*, in the name of which Herr Liebrecht finds some resemblance to that of Byron's *Hours of Idleness*, consists of three 'decisiones' or divisions. The first relates to the creation of the world, and to its history between the creation and the deluge. The second is geographical and historical, and describes the various portions of the 'three-nooked world,'—as it was then held to be, but always with a reference to whatever was most unusual and least understood; and the third, which in many respects is the most interesting, and is certainly the most curious, contains the marvels (*mirabilia*) of various countries and provinces,—'non omnia, sed ex omnibus aliquæ.' We shall find, however, that Gervase, in this division, dwells at greatest length, and most willingly, on the marvels of his native country, and especially of the Eastern counties, with which he was immediately connected; and of the kingdom of Arles, of which he was so long Marshal, and where he was living during

<sup>1</sup> 'Les Saintes Maries' has been well described by M. Lénhéric, in his recent volume entitled *Les Villes mortes du golfe de Lyon*. Lazarus, according to the legend, went to Marseilles, Martha to Tarascon, and Mary Magdalene to Sainte Baume. The two other Maries, the mother of James the Less and the mother of the apostles James and John, remained at their landing place. With them was a poor servant named Sara, who is now regarded as the patron of wanderers in the Camargue. It is asserted that they fled from persecution about the year 40 A.D.

the compilation of his book. But, although the volume was offered by him to the Emperor as a diversion for those hours when he should unbend his mind from the cares and turmoils of state, it was by no means designed to be without instruction. It would afford, suggests the author, excellent teaching and needful warning about many things; and the Imperial Celsitude, labouring for the establishment of the faith, might gather from it what should be approved and sustained 'in catholicis;' what should be plucked forth and condemned 'in hæreticis.' This seems to imply that much of the wild and vague belief, and confused, dimly understood physical and cosmographical science to which the first two 'decisions' are devoted, was to be regarded as the creed of the orthodox,—not indeed to be placed on the footing of great revealed truths, but to be held as something more than 'pious opinions,' from which it was not safe for a true son of the Church to turn aside. The *Otia* is in fact a sort of encyclopædia of mediæval literature; and covers much of the ground which, towards the middle of the same thirteenth century, was occupied by the *Specula* of Vincent of Beauvais, whose 'comprehensive manner' and 'vast industry' are praised by Hallam, although these were combined, he adds, 'with almost a studious desire, as we might now fancy, to accumulate absurd falsehoods.'<sup>1</sup> But these absurd falsehoods are to us the most valuable part of such a mediæval encyclopædia. They show us, with a distinctness not to be mistaken, the points and the subjects on which the modern mind differs so completely from the mediæval that, where these alone are in question, it would be as easy for a Connemara peasant to understand or sympathize with Darwin or Huxley as for Ger-vase or Vincent to comprehend the philosophy of the nineteenth century,—supposing that a glimpse of it could have been afforded to them. It is not so much a development of ancient thoughts and belief that has made modern science what it is, as a totally new standpoint and an application of induction and of critical judgment which, in many ways the earlier writers shrank from as from the suggestions of something evil. We cannot afford to neglect the 'falsehoods' of books like the *Otia* if we would really understand the centuries in which they were compiled. Even Leibnitz, modern philosopher as he was, admits that the stories, which he regards as more or less childish, were nevertheless closely bound up with the religion or at least with the approved faith of the

<sup>1</sup> *Literary History*, i. 120.

age.<sup>1</sup> The special stories which show us how completely, in the days of Gervase, the world was still a place of wonder, belong to the third division of the *Otia*. But the first and second well deserve some attention.

The account of the heavens, of the stars and planets, differs little from what may be found in the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas. The highest heaven is the 'cœlum Trinitatis:' where the holy Trinity alone dwells, 'non localiter, sed incircumscriptè, et inenarrabili et inattingibili gloria.' In the heaven below this are Christ in his human body and the Blessed Virgin, raised above the choirs of angels; for the lower heavenly sphere is the Empyreum, tenanted by all the host of the angelic hierarchy. It is so called from  $\pi\upsilon\rho$ —since it is immediately above the starry heaven or the firmament. This heaven is of water frozen to the consistency of crystal, and perfectly clear. In it the stars are fixed. The cœlum aërium, the region of the air, is below it, and there the saints are dwelling, and will remain until the judgment. On its border is the *infernus malorum*, the place of eternal punishment. Lowest of all, is the cœlum aqueum, the watery heaven, which encircles and waters the earth. All this is described, says Gervase, in order that the Imperial Majesty may recognize the glory and dignity of his Creator, and may know that he is but dust, as the contents of the apple of gold he bears in his left hand are designed to teach him. This apple, which formed part of the Imperial regalia, was of gold, to signify the glory of the Empire, but it was filled with dust and ashes, to imply the swift passing away of all temporal prosperity. There are many such references to the Imperial dress, ornaments, and habits, and all are curious. The flaming sword of Eden, which turned every way, was to teach the Emperor that the sword of his dominion ought to be double-edged, to punish others, and to cut through his own faults. The sword, we are told, was temporarily removed, so that Enoch and Elias might enter Paradise, but it was not entirely withdrawn until after the death of Christ. From the blessing of Melchizedec the Emperor is warned of the necessity for the benediction of his table by a priest. And a brief benediction sometimes carried trouble with it. The cellarer of the monastery of S. Rufus at Valence used on these occasions to exchange a long Psalm for a shorter. He died, and one of the brethren going his rounds at night, encountered the ghost of the cellarer, who confessed that he was suffering

<sup>1</sup> 'Sed talia tunc verba in pietate, vel certe in laude ponebantur.'—*Prefatio ad Scrip. Rer. Brunsvic.*

much for the impatience; which reminds us of the conduct of Major Dalgetty on his visit to the castle of Ardvorlich. The prayers of the convent released the cellarer from his pains.

In his chapter on the dew of heaven, we are told that certain old people in England (*in majori Britannia*) were in the habit, on Christmas Eve, of setting in the open air a bundle of oats, or a vessel filled with oats or barley, on which, at the moment of our Lord's birth, there descended a certain heavenly moisture. The grain, thus blessed, was held to be a sure remedy in all cases of cattle-disease. From the 'ros cœli' Gervase passes to the waters of the earth, the rivers, the sea, and the deluge. The rainbow is a sign of two judgments, typified in its colours. The blue, which marks the exterior of the arch, indicates the judgment by water, already passed; the red of the interior is the fiery trial to come; and for forty days before the final judgment, the rainbow will be permanently fixed in the air, and will be entirely of a red colour, showing that the desiccation of the atmosphere has already begun. This, indeed, was one of the recognized forewarnings of the coming end of the world; and the fifteen days immediately preceding that end had each its sign and its prodigy.<sup>1</sup> In discussing the sea Gervase finds himself in a position of some difficulty. We have recorded his belief that the watery and the airy heavens brooded over the earth, one above the other. Nevertheless, although there were those who asserted that the ocean surrounded on all sides the great plain of the earth, and was so confined, he cannot but think from certain facts which have been detailed to him, that there is an upper sea, above our heads, into which mariners sometimes sail who leave the harbours of England or of France; in whatever manner the existence of such a sea is to be reconciled with the arrangement of the heavenly spheres. It is known, he says, that as the folk of a certain parish in England were once leaving church on a feast day, they saw the anchor of a ship fastened to a great heap of stones (*lapideo tumulo*) in the churchyard. The sky was covered with thick clouds, and a rope passed upwards from the anchor. Presently the rope was violently pulled and shaken, and they heard above the clouds

<sup>1</sup> These signs are duly enumerated in the *Pricke of Conscience*—a remarkable poem in the Northumbrian dialect, by Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole, in Yorkshire, who died in 1349. They are figured in the stained glass windows of All Saints' Church, York, and a legend from Richard of Hampole is inserted beneath each subject. The signs are dwelt upon in a fine passage of one of Jeremy Taylor's sermons.—*Works*, vol. v. p. 13, ed. Heber.

the shouts and cries of seamen, trying in vain to haul in the anchor. As this could not be, they sent one of their number to disengage it, and he presently appeared out of the clouds, descending by the rope. The people, who had so far looked on in wonder, seized him; but he died in their hands, just as a shipwrecked man might do, under the sea. The anchor remained; and as a memorial of the wonder, hinges and iron-work for the doors of the church were made from it, *prudenti consilio*, and these are still there for all men to see. Unfortunately the name of this church is not given, so that we can have no opportunity of judging for ourselves how far the iron, thus marvellously acquired, differed from that in ordinary use. There is another story of a Bristol sailor who lost his knife when at sea in some far-off part of the world. It fell through the lantern or smoke-hole (*lucernaria*) of his own house at Bristol, and stuck in the table before his wife.

There are curious chapters in this first division, describing the invention of various arts and appliances. Sardanapalus invented cushions. Ninus designed the first *braccæ*, or breeches, which appeared in the world. Some of these earlier inventors were of the giant race; for giants were born after the Deluge, although many had existed in the earlier world. Charles the Great was a giant. So was Roland; and in the history of the Britons, 'from whom, most venerated Prince, you descend on your mother's side,' we are told how Brutus and Corineus, at their first landing in Britain, found that the country was inhabited by giants only. And to that overthrow of Troy, which brought Brutus to the greater Britain, are due not only the establishment of that kingdom, but that of the Roman Empire, 'which you hold, most serene Prince; and that of the realm of the Franks, which you rule so far as Aquitaine is concerned;—three kingdoms, a happy number, being that of the most Holy Trinity.' The whole story of Brutus, and of the British kings to Vortigern, is told by Gervase after Geoffrey of Monmouth, and fills much of the second division of the *Otia*. This division is mainly geographical; but some curious discussions are introduced, one of which relates to the famous letter of Abgar, King of Edessa, to our Lord, and to the reply which it received. Eusebius asserts that the letter of Abgar was answered by one written in our Lord's own hand. A later story, which first appears in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius, who died in 593, asserts that either with, or in place of a letter, our Lord sent to Abgar a 'divinely wrought image' of His Person. This legend afterwards takes different shapes; but Gervase supplies many

details which do not occur elsewhere, and which we must suppose to have been the accepted version at that time floating through the East. The 'divinely-wrought image' appeared on a linen cloth. Our Lord had laid Himself on this cloth, and His whole figure remained miraculously impressed on it. It was preserved in the principal church of Edessa, and was taken from its shrine only on the greater festivals. Every year, on Easter Day, it went through various changes. At the first hour of the day the figure is that of an infant; and so it appears as boy, adolescent, and youth, until at the ninth hour it assumes its usual condition, and displays our Lord as of full years and stature. No heretic can live in the city of Edessa; no pagan, no Jew. The place fears no enemies. It cannot be taken; for if a foreign army appears before the walls a child of tender years, standing above the principal gate, reads aloud the holy letter which accompanied the *imago* of our Lord. On the same day the enemy is either appeased or takes sudden flight. This story seems to be a confused tradition of one preserved by Evagrius, who says that when Edessa was besieged by Chosroes in the year 540, the Persians raised a great mound to overtop the walls. This mound was chiefly composed of wood, and the besieged undermined it from within the walls, designing to set it on fire. But the flames would not seize it, until the holy image was brought into the mine and washed with water, which was then sprinkled on the wood. The timber instantly burst into flame, the fire spread in all directions, and the Persians were put to open confusion. Gervase, however, says nothing of the removal of this sacred relic, together with the letters of Abgar and our Lord, from Edessa to Byzantium in the year 944. A story of its origin, differing altogether from that given by Gervase, is told in a tract written by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogeneta, in whose reign the relics were removed. The festival of their reception at Byzantium is celebrated in the Græco-Sclavonic calendar on August 16.<sup>1</sup> All this may have been ignored at Edessa, where, besides these famous relics, the body of S. Thomas the Apostle was, according to Gervase, enshrined in silver. On Easter Day the body was removed from the shrine and placed on the altar. The people took the consecrated bread from the hand of the Apostle, but the hand was always withdrawn from a sinner. There is here possibly a confusion between S. Thomas and Thaddæus, who, according to some versions of the story, was sent by S. Thomas to

<sup>1</sup> All these early stories (excepting that of Gervase) are detailed in a very interesting article on the 'Portraits of Christ,' *Quart. Rev.* vol. 123.



Abgar, after the Crucifixion, with the linen cloth—here apparently the same as that of S. Veronica.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to trace these broken, shifting versions of what was certainly an early tradition, in the forms which found their way westward during the later mediæval ages, and were duly received by such writers as Gervase. Returning crusaders may have told him the story in his early days, when he was at Naples, or with King William in Sicily. His eyes and his ears were always open for such things ; and it was while in William's palace at Palermo, surrounded by all that strange mixture of art and of historical association which distinguishes Sicily above every other portion of Europe, that Gervase heard of an appearance which adds a legend of the great King Arthur—

‘ Begirt with British and Armoric peers,’

to the Punic, the Greek, the Roman, the Arabian, and the Norman relics and memories of the island. A servant of the Bishop of Catania, following a runaway horse, was led through the deep chestnut woods of Etna to a vast plain, full of all beautiful and precious things, in the midst of which rose a royal palace. He entered ; and found the blameless king himself, stretched on a bed covered with cloth of gold. Arthur received the bishop's servant kindly, ordered those who surrounded him to find and restore the lost palfrey, and said that, after the great fight with his nephew Modred, he had been brought, wounded, to that place. Every year his wound opened afresh. He sent wonderful presents, we are told, to the Bishop of Catania ; but nothing is said of his re-

<sup>1</sup> Of another famous figure of our Lord, the ‘volto santo di Lucca,’ Gervase (dec. iii. c. 24) gives the following history :—During the crucifixion Nicodemus entreated the Blessed Virgin and the other Maries to provide a linen cloth wherewith to cover the Saviour on the cross. They brought one which shrouded His figure entirely ; and after the deposition the form of His whole person was found to be impressed on the covering. Copying this miraculous impression, Nicodemus carved the ‘volto,’ or crucifix, at Lucca. During a great persecution in Palestine this picture was shut into an ark, covered with bitumen, and ‘without sail or oar’ was entrusted to the sea at Joppa. It reached in safety the harbour of Luna, which once gave its name to what is now the Gulf of Spezia. The men of Luna, more or less pirates, attempted to seize the ark ; but it fled from their boats, always halting when they halted. Then the Bishop of the neighbouring city of Lucca hearing of the marvel, approached the ark with prayers and psalms, and it at once came to meet him. Thus the crucifix became the great treasure of the Cathedral of Lucca, where it is still shown. It is carved in cedar wood. The figure (which is possibly Byzantine) is long and thin, and is robed in what seem to be priestly vestments.

appearance in the world, nor of the agency by which he had been conveyed away from the scene of the battle. In spite of the frequent connection between Sicily and England (Angerius, the first abbot of the monastery attached to the Cathedral of Catania, is called an Englishman) it is somewhat startling to find the mysterious lawns of Avilion spreading themselves under the shadow of Etna. But Gervase implies that they were not confined to that region. In the forests of the greater and the lesser Britain, he says, it was common for the woodwards to encounter, either at mid-day or at night when the full moon was shining, a company of hunters following the chase with cry of dogs and winding of horns, who replied to all who questioned them that they were of the family and following of Arthur.

This is of course a form of the wide-spread belief in the 'wild hunter' and his host; and these passages of Gervase have supplied his German editor with a text on which to hang a vast and curious array of notes and illustrations. Undoubtedly the third part of the *Otia Imperialia*, to which these Arthuric legends introduce us, is of very great value for the comparative mythologist, and will supply him with many a link by which he may connect the ancient heathenism of North and South with the beliefs and superstitions of Christian and mediæval times. But we are for the present rather concerned with these beliefs and superstitions as they appeared to Gervase himself and his contemporaries. He never dreamt of tracing back the *wilde Jäger* to the rush of Odin in the storm, nor could he have recognized the grey hood of the same deity, which rendered him invisible when he drew it on, in the 'tarn-kappe' or magical helmet figuring in some of the most curious stories of the *Otia*. All these things were for him realities; and were to be accepted just as they were brought before him, without reserve, and without idle attempts at explanation. Accordingly, in this third division, we get a glimpse of the world such as it appeared in the eyes of even learned writers—and how much more certainly in those of rude laymen and of the ordinary 'lewid folke'—in days which were truly prescientific, before any 'philosophical persons' had arisen, 'to make modern and familiar things supernatural and causeless.' It was a world of wonder and of mystery—

'The elf quene, with hir joly companie,  
Danced full ofte in many a grene mede.'

Every wide-spreading heath and every deep forest had its

own marvels. In every castle there might be some strange appearance or enchantment, such as converted into reality the stories of the romancers. Everywhere, even in the streets of crowded cities, the supernatural world jostled the world of sense, and might at any time give some unexpected and visible proof of its nearness. Indeed there were few cities which had not their own gifts, indicating a connection with some especial branch of the spirit world. Thus, Gervase tells us of Terdona, within the territory belonging to which the approaching death of the head of a household was indicated by a furrow, red with blood, turned up in ploughing the plot of ground belonging to him. Modern scepticism would perhaps suggest that springs strongly impregnated with iron may have had something to do with the warning; but the men of Terdona were no philosophers, and every spring, when they led their yokes of oxen to the field, they made the ploughmen take a solemn oath, with their hands resting on the book of the Gospels, that they would faithfully indicate the appearance of the omen to the master whom it concerned. Other such local marvels—such as that of the wood of Aspley in Bedfordshire, the trees of which turn into stone within a year, if thrown into a neighbouring stream or buried in the bank near it—though still, on the spot, regarded as hardly ‘canny,’ are more certainly to be explained by modern science. The ‘petrifying marsh’ of Aspley is still well known, and the water still rapidly encrusts with carbonate of lime whatever is placed in contact with it.

Great additional value is given to the stories recorded by Gervase from the fact that in so many instances he tells either what came under his own observation, or what was told to him on the actual scene of the marvels, or in the district to which they belonged. Thus the Eastern counties of England, and the country about Arles, with both of which he was so closely connected, supply by far the greater part of the histories with which he proposed to edify the leisure hours of the Emperor. Other countries, of course, are not neglected; and as we have already seen, he turns now and then to the far East for his illustrations. In Sicily and at Naples he was again at home; and he gives us some curious, and elsewhere unrecorded, stories of Virgil, better known in the thirteenth century as a great magician and as the bestower of innumerable magical benefits on Naples, than as a great poet. This mysterious position had been bestowed on Virgil long before the time of Gervase of Tilbury; but when he visited Naples, certainly before the year 1200, the ‘Virgilian legends,’ as they

have been called, had grown into very great prominence. They, or at least some of them, had already been recorded in the letters of Conrad of Querfurt, Chancellor of the Emperor Henry VI. (the predecessor of Otto IV.), and his representative at Naples. Conrad had been appointed by the Emperor to dismantle the walls of Naples, in which it was supposed that Virgil, the presumed founder of the city, had enclosed a talisman for its protection. This talisman Conrad declares that he found; and he describes it as a model of the city, enclosed in a narrow-necked bottle. Unhappily for Naples this bottle was slightly cracked. The talisman had thus lost its virtue, and Conrad was enabled to proceed with a work which otherwise he would have found impossible. That he did not completely destroy the walls, or that at any rate he left the gates standing, we learn from one of Gervase's stories. On one occasion, wishing to pass as quickly as he might into Sicily, he entered Naples in the company of a son of the Earl of Salisbury—probably Earl Patrick, who was lieutenant of Aquitaine under Henry II. They were hospitably received by the Archdeacon of Naples, the same John Pignatelli who had studied Canon Law under Gervase at Bologna. Within less than an hour after their arrival they found a ship, secured their passage at an easy rate, and fixed the time for their departure. Such good luck astonished the travellers; and when they expressed their wonder to the Archdeacon, he at once inquired by what gate they had entered Naples, and through which passage of the gate—the right or the left. 'We told him,' says Gervase, 'that just as we got to the gate, and were about to pass through on the left side, an ass laden with wood stopped the way, and compelled us to turn towards the right.' 'That is sufficient,' the Archdeacon replied; 'your good luck is fully accounted for.' Then taking them to the gate, he showed them that above either entry was a head sculptured in Parian marble—one, on the right, laughing, the other, on the left, at once fierce and melancholy. These had been fixed there by Virgil, and whoever took the right or left passage on entering would meet with good or bad fortune accordingly. Only the choice must not be deliberate, and the ass which stopped the left passage had been happily encountered. Others of the Virgilian marvels are duly recorded in the *Otia*: such as the brazen fly which kept off all living insects, the market where meat remained always fresh, and the vault under the gate of Nola in which serpents were imprisoned; but these are all found elsewhere. Gervase alone tells how, in the days of King Roger of Sicily, a certain English master

(*magister natione Anglus*) obtained from that king the gift of the bones of Virgil, if they were to be found anywhere within the limits of his kingdom. He went to Naples, where the people, who thought his search a hopeless one, offered no opposition to his proceedings. At length, under a tumulus high on the side of a mountain, unmarked by any external sign, the tomb of the great magician was laid bare—not without extreme labour and difficulty. Within it appeared the uncorrupted body:

‘Before their eyes the wizard lay,  
As if he had not been dead a day.  
His hoary beard in silver roll’d,—  
His left hand held his book of might.  
High and majestic was his look,  
At which the fellest fiends had shook.’

The book contained the whole art of gramarye, and was carried off by the Englishman, although, without the bones of Virgil, it was only capable of yielding an imperfect service. But the Neapolitans would not allow the body to be removed. It was taken to the Castel di Mare, and shown behind an iron grating. As for the ‘book of might,’ Cardinal Giovanni of Naples obtained some extracts from it, which came to the hands of Gervase. He had tried some of the receipts, and had been very well satisfied with the results.

To trace the growth of these Virgilian stories, and their identity with various Eastern legends and with various histories of the same class scattered throughout the world, is not our present business. This has been thoroughly done in the recent work of Signor Comparetti;<sup>1</sup> who has shown that so late as the beginning of the present century Virgil was still recognized as a magician—but always as a protector and a benefactor—in the ‘folklore’ of Naples and its vicinity. Other stories than those of Virgil, however, came to the ears of Gervase during his occasional visits to Naples; and one of these remarkably illustrates that disposition to localize the mysterious regions of the unseen world, and to condense imaginative or allegorical forms into hard fact, which is an especial characteristic of mediæval philosophy. A certain Giovanni, Bishop of Puteoli, who was in the habit of praying zealously for the dead, once heard the lamentations of spirits who were en-

<sup>1</sup> *Vergilio nel Medio Evo*. Per Domenico Comparetti, Professore nella R. Università di Pisa, 1872.

during purgatory within the crater of Vesuvius, and was enabled to release at least one of them. There was a lake of black water on the mountain, from which sometimes came cries and lamentations as of a vast company. To this lake the Bishop one day brought a flask of holy oil, hoping to clear the water, and to see what was hidden in its depths. The oil lighted the whole lake, as though some great torch had been fired under the water. In the blaze the Bishop saw, at the bottom of the lake, enormous gates and bars of brass; but broken and shattered. Then he knew that these were the gates of hell, which our Lord had burst asunder when, according to the ancient phrase, He 'harrowed' the dominion of Satan.

The belief that mountain lakes, and especially those connected with volcanic mountains, are in some manner approaches to a marvellous under-world, sometimes purgatory, sometimes a darker and more hopeless region, and, just as often, the shadowy realm of faëry, presents itself frequently in mediæval folklore, and is by no means altogether extinct. There is many a tarn in Scotland and in Northern England which is still shunned by reason of the strange sights and sounds seen and heard from time to time on its banks. Cranmere, in Dartmoor, adjoining the sources of the Dart and Teign, is held to be the purgatory of unbaptized infants, whose wailing cries are heard in the twilight far over the dreary moorland, in which the morass, once, as its name implies, a lone lake or 'mere,' is set; and many other examples might readily be collected. No modern legend, however, is so striking, perhaps not one is so instructive, as that which Gervase has recorded of a certain lake on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain in Catalonia, within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Gerona. The mountain seems to be that now known as the 'Monte de las Cañas.'<sup>1</sup> Deep in the lake is the house of dæmons (*mansio dæmonum*), of vast size and with strongly barred gates. It is invisible to ordinary spectators; but should any one throw a stone into the lake, a terrific storm will immediately break forth, as if the evil spirits resented the insult. Near the foot of the mountain lived a farmer whose name was Pedro de Cabina. Being one day busied in his household, he was disturbed and irritated by the cries of his young daughter, whom at last, in a fit of passion, he consigned 'to all the devils.' She disappeared in a whirlwind. Seven years had passed, when a countryman, passing near the mountain, encountered a human figure running swiftly, and crying in a feeble voice, 'Ah me,

<sup>1</sup> It is called 'Mons Cannarum' by Gervase.



how may I bear this great weight of suffering?' When asked the cause of his complaint, he answered that he had passed many years in the heart of the mountain, having been 'given over' to the dæmons, who made him their beast of burden; and that the daughter of Pedro de Cabina was there in similar condition. But the dæmons, he added, were weary of her, and would restore her, if her father would go to the lake and demand her. He disappeared, and the countryman made his way to the house of Pedro, and told his strange story. Pedro climbed the mountain, and on the barren shore of the lake he adjured the evil spirits to give back his daughter. At once there came a breath of light wind, and his daughter stood before him, tall, dark, withered; a wild figure with wandering eyes, understanding no human speech, and hardly of human appearance. But Pedro brought her home in safety, and then sought counsel from the Bishop of Gerona. We are then told that the Bishop caused her to be set forth in the sight of all, and made her the subject of an eloquent discourse; but it does not appear how far she was restored to the uses and conditions of 'middle earth.' She could tell none of her experiences in the mountain. Her companion, however, who had disclosed her condition to the countryman, was afterwards himself delivered in similar fashion. He had been a grown man when spirited away; and was therefore able to tell of the great palace under the lake, of its jealously guarded portals, and of the halls in which the dæmons met, and in full council unfolded their doings in various parts of the world. The moral is drawn out, at some length by Gervase, but is too obvious to be insisted on here. Of English lakes and waters which had something of the mysterious character of the Catalan lake, Gervase mentions one only,—Haveringmere, on the Welsh border. If a person while passing over it cried out 'Phrut, Haveringmere, and alle those over the fere,'<sup>1</sup> a great storm arose, and the traveller's boat was drawn into the depths. 'Est satis mirandum,' he adds, 'quod aquæ hujusmodi concipiunt indignationes.' Grimm and other comparative mythologists refer the wonder to lingering memories of those heathen days when lake and river had their indwelling spirits, many of whom were propitiated by an annual human sacrifice. Under this head must probably be classed the story

<sup>1</sup> 'Phrut Haveringmere, and all they that over thee do fare' (travel). Gervase gives the cry in English, of which it is to be supposed that the Emperor Otto, from his long residence in this country, had some knowledge.

of a voice heard for three following days, as though issuing from a deep pool in the Rhone, and exclaiming, 'The hour has passed and the man is not come.' On the third day, about noons, as the cry became louder and fiercer, a youth rushed to the bank of the river, plunged in, and was seen no more.<sup>1</sup> Gervase himself knew a woman who had been carried off by one of the water-drakes (*draci*—spirits so called, whose name is not easily explained) of the Rhone, and had been kept in their service for many years.

The banks of the Rhone and the country about Arles supply Gervase with abundant marvels. His wife's relation, Humbert, Archbishop of Arles, had, when an infant in the cradle, been nearly carried off by earthmen, or by some of those elvish tribes which delight in stealing children. It might have been these, he suggests, or 'those other nocturnal phantoms which infest houses everywhere;' but at any rate the child was taken from its cradle, and plunged into a bath of water, where it was found smiling and well pleased, as if the phantoms had not presented themselves under a very alarming form. The cellar in Gervase's own house was haunted. Sometimes casks, which were known to be full of wine, seemed perfectly empty, and nothing whatever could be drawn from them. An hour later, and all would be as usual. The Marshal of Arles had no doubt at all that evil spirits of some kind were at the bottom of this. Perhaps the experience of Friar Claus among the oaken brotherhood—

' Dwelling for ever under ground,  
Silent, contemplative, round and sound '—

might have somewhat enlightened him. Such tricks in the cellar, however, were but a very ordinary display of power. Crossing the mountains into Spain, Gervase declares that, once in seven years, certain nocturnal phantoms, called the 'strikers,' used to pass through the land, and to kill all those who had not in some way guarded themselves from the peril. On one of these occasions, a noble knight of Arragon, as he lay awake in his hall, surrounded by his sleeping followers, saw, by the light which was burning,<sup>2</sup> two black figures like Moors enter the chamber, each holding a long dart in his hand. They paused; and one said to the other, 'Why dost thou not strike the sleepers?' Then he flung his dart, which struck one of the sleeping soldiers on the breast. Being called on to

<sup>1</sup> *Otia Imp.* dec. iii. c. 85.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ut potentibus mos est in cameris inter somnos perpetuum lumen habere.'—Dec. iii. c. 83.

strike the rest, he made answer that they had all touched fennel during the past day, and that he had no power over them. So they vanished, and the knight passed the time until the morning in great fear and dread. The stricken soldier awoke out of a deep sleep in extreme pain, and although no mark of a wound could be seen, he died within a few days. It is the custom, adds Gervase, among Spaniards and Catalans, to taste fennel every day, or at least to take it into their hands. It is a sure defence against evil spirits, and two or three sprays of the herb, fastened to the bridle or head-gear of a horse, protect it from all the dangers of the evil eye. Fennel is still among the Basques held to be the 'herb of grace' most dreaded by witch and wizard.

Within the limits of the kingdom of Arles was the Castle of Livron, one tower of which, called the Bishop's tower (it was in the diocese of Valence), was under enchantment, and would allow no warder to 'pace his rounds' along its walls at night. Whoever was placed there at sunset found himself in the morning safe in the valley below. How or when he had been carried down he could not tell, since he neither felt nor saw anything. At another Castle, that of Esperver, in the same diocese, was localized the story of the mysterious dame (in some versions, but not in that told by Gervase, she appears as an ancestress of the Plantagenets), who lived for many years a faithful and honoured wife, but who always left the Castle chapel before the consecration of the Host. On one occasion her husband detained her by force; and, as soon as the priest began to recite the sacred words, she rose from the ground with a shriek, was carried upward through the roof, part of which she took away with her, and was never seen afterwards. Among other marvels was a lofty and inaccessible rock near Grenoble, with grass on the summit, on which were often outspread cloths of snowy whiteness. It seemed to be the fairies' bleaching ground; though what such a display might in truth signify it was difficult to understand.<sup>1</sup> Then we have the story of the 'Pontias' wind (still so called) which fertilizes the valley of Niort. This valley is surrounded by mountains, and was barren and uninhabited, until S. Cæsarius, Archbishop of Arles, desiring to make it fit for the support of human life, went to the shore of the Mediterranean, filled his

<sup>1</sup> 'In summo rupis apice . . . panni super extensi candidissimi visuntur ad exsiccandum expositi, sicut lotrices in usu habent. Istud unde prodeat, aut quid signet, aut quo ministrante compareat, quærere facile fuit, sed invenire difficillimum.'—Dec. iii. c. 42.

glove with the sea-wind, tied it carefully round, and then, taking it to the Niort valley, laid it on a certain rock there. Immediately a hollow opened in the rock, and from it came a fertilizing wind (called Pontias, 'quasi à ponto,' says Gervase, 'as if from the sea, which was its mother'), which has never ceased to blow, which fills the whole valley with health and verdure, but never passes the confines of it. Herr Liebrecht finds 'ohne zweifel' that S. Cæsarius here represents Odin, the lord of the winds. On this grave question we shall only say that, although Wuotan or Odin may perhaps have journeyed southward with the Visigoths, we should hardly expect to find him influencing the folklore of Arles.

The famous 'Aliscamps,'—the 'Elysii campi,' the great cemetery of Arles, to which the dead were brought from many other cities,

'Si come ad Arli ove 'l Rodano stagna,  
Fanno i sepolcri tutto 'l loco varo'—<sup>1</sup>

were consecrated, according to the legend, like the earliest church at Glastonbury, by our Lord in person, who appeared to Trophimus, the first bishop of Arles, one of the seventy-two disciples, and the patron of the Romanesque Cathedral. Great privileges were bestowed on this cemetery. Those buried in it could be troubled by no diabolical illusions. Their bodies could not be made the sport of wehrwolves or of vampires, 'secundum quod in Evangelio legitur, quosdam dæmones habitare in sepulchris.' The whole field was blessed; and Gervase tells us that it was the custom for those who lived at a distance, higher up the Rhone, to commit their dead in coffins, or in vessels sealed with bitumen (*in doliis bituminatis*) to the river, which never carried them beyond a certain point, from which they were drawn ashore. Money, as an offering for the cemetery, was always deposited in the coffin. On one occasion the men of Beaucaire stopped a coffin in its descent of the river, and stole the money. The coffin remained fixed in the Rhone, and could not be stirred until the wrong had been discovered, and the money restored.

From Arles we pass to England, where the stories assume a graver cast, and are in many cases distinctly tinged with the colours of Teutonic and Scandinavian heathenism. We are carried back to the legends of Northern warriors who dared to confront and to fight with the dead in their 'howes,' or to the struggles of mighty heroes with Thor and with Odin themselves, by the remarkable story of the Knight Osbert, which afforded to Sir Walter Scott the groundwork for 'The Host's Tale' in *Marmion*.

<sup>1</sup> *Inferno*, ix, 112.

The story, as told by Gervase, who says that he heard it at the place where the scene is laid,<sup>1</sup> runs as follows:—A powerful baron, whose name was Osbert Fitzhugh, whilst a guest in the Castle of Cambridge, among other tales told round the winter fire in the hall, heard that an unearthly champion was to be encountered, under certain circumstances, within the ring of an ancient camp which crested the neighbouring downs. Whoever dared to call him forth must go to the camp at midnight, when the moon was shining, and quite alone. Osbert, like Marmion in the poem, was haunted by the story—

‘And fain would he ride forth, to see  
The scene of elfin chivalry.’

Accordingly, as soon as the moon was in the right quarter, he rode forth to the camp, fully armed, and attended by a single squire. The camp, on the highest point of the Gog-Magog hills, is still known as Wandlebury or Vandlebury, though we need not accept the explanation of Gervase, that it was an old entrenchment of the Vandals, raised by them ‘whilst they were wasting Britain, and everywhere destroying the Christians.’ Leaving his squire at the foot of the hill, Osbert passed the earthen rings, and entered the camp at the point to which he had been directed. At his cry, ‘Let the knight come forth to fight!’ a figure suddenly rode forward from the further side of the enclosure, on a black horse, with black trappings. The armour which he wore was all black, and his long lance glittered in the moonlight. Osbert rode to meet him. The encounter was fierce and long; but the earthly knight at length got the better of his adversary, unhorsed him, and stretched him on the ground. As was the recognized fashion in such cases of single combat, Osbert seized the bridle of the black knight’s horse and was leading him off as his lawful booty, when the knight, springing from the ground, flung his lance, and wounded Osbert severely in the thigh. Then he disappeared. But the horse remained, and Osbert, thinking little of his wound, carried him off in safety to Cambridge, where he was tied up in the court of the Castle. The entire household pressed eagerly to see him, and all wondered at his gigantic size, his fiery eyes, his great apparent strength, and the strange dark trappings which still hung about him. He remained quiet until cock-crow, when he broke into fury, snapped in an instant the cords which tied him and vanished from the sight of all men. When Osbert re-

Quam ab incolis et indigenis auditui meo subjeci.’—Dec. iii. c. 59.

K K 2

removed his iron greaves, he found that one of them was filled with blood from his wound. It healed; but every year, as the night came round on which he had encountered the mysterious warrior 'upon the brown hill's breast,' it opened and bled afresh. Fearing that his adventure had hardly been a lawful one, Osbert soon afterward passed over seas, fought bravely against the Paynim, and ended his life in the way that most befitted a good and Christian knight.<sup>1</sup>

In stories of this class we find horses and dogs, the usual attendants of a knight, occupying various positions in the unseen world. Celestial warriors, like S. James and S. George, appear on snow-white steeds, and scatter all before them. The black, fire-breathing horse of evil spirits is, as we have seen, not always invincible. There are others which belong to a middle region, and partake of the nature of the mischievous elves, or even of the 'wise women,' the fairy ladies of romance. Such was the horse of Gérald de Cabrières, called 'bonus amicus' (*bon ami*), which its master consulted on all occasions, and always with the most fortunate results,—though by what means communication took place between the horse and its master no one could tell. It slept on cushions, and was fed with barley bread from a silver manger. It delighted in music, and danced admirably, as Gervase himself saw, when on one occasion the horse performed in his palace at Arles, before Alphonso, King of Arragon. This marvellous 'friend' was generally supposed to be a fairy (*fadus*); but Gervase is puzzled, and declines to express a positive opinion on the matter.

We have no space to dwell on various English goblins which are mentioned nowhere but in the pages of Gervase:—the *Grants*, who resemble colts of a year old, and whose appearance in a town during the heat of the day, or at sunset, portends fire: or the *Portunes*, a sort of brownies, who enter houses at night, 'bask at the fire their hairy length,' and roast frogs at the embers. The forest of Ingleburn, which reached nearly to the gates of Carlisle, was full of wonders. In the

<sup>1</sup> Besides this story, Sir Walter Scott, in the notes to *Marmion*, gives a very curious extract from a manuscript once belonging to the Benedictines of Durham, containing a somewhat similar narrative. The book or manuscript no longer exists in the Durham Library. The extract was supplied to Sir Walter by Mr. Surtees, of Mainsforth; and, recollecting certain ingenious fabrications by the historian of Durham which deceived even Scott (among them are the Ballads of 'Williemoteswick' and 'Barthram's Dirge'), they may well be forgiven who regard the prose story—it is in very choice chronicler's Latin—with some little suspicion.



heart of the woodland was a valley where, one hour after mid-day, was always to be heard a faint, but sweet, ringing of bells,—whence, says Gervase, the people call that place 'Laikibrait,'—a word which has not been explained, though we are told that it is 'in idiomate Gallico.' In the same wood S. Simeon once appeared to a knight who had invoked him during a great storm. He carried a hunting horn, and telling the knight his name, gave him the horn as a protection for himself and his descendants whenever there should be fear of thunder. The lightning would not flash nor would thunder be heard within the limits reached by the sound. This horn was fairly gained. Not so the drinking horn of the Forest of Dean, carried off by stealth from its fairy owner. In the forest was a low green mound. When a hunter ascended it, and said, 'I thirst,' a graceful cupbearer appeared, with a pleasant countenance, who held forth a great horn rich with gold and jewels, 'sicut apud antiquissimos Anglos usus habet.' The horn was filled with delicious liquor, which removed all trace of weariness as soon as it had been swallowed. Then the bearer presented a napkin for the drinker's mouth, and so vanished, asking neither fee nor reward. A knight who had thus been served retained the horn, and the marvel of course came to an end. The horn afterwards came into the hands of Henry the 'Beauclerc.' A version of this story is attached to one of the barrows on the Yorkshire wolds, and is told by William of Newburgh; and the Cumberland story of the 'Luck of Eden Hall' is nearly the same. The Yorkshire legend is still in force. Mr. Wright heard it told of Willeyhouse, near Wold-Newton, in 1857. It had thus been handed on for at least seven hundred years.

We have by no means exhausted the stores of the *Otia*. Wonders of the Derbyshire Peak might be described, in which was the entrance to fairy-land, or perhaps to the country of the antipodes. At any rate, a swineherd of William Peverell, who followed one of his charge into the famous cavern, came at last to a bright and fertile land in which harvest was in full progress, although he had left winter and deep snow behind him. This may have been the same 'land of S. Martin,' from which came the 'green children' of William of Newburgh. But enough has perhaps been said to indicate the peculiar interest of Gervase's very curious book. The marvels recorded in it, and the theories of science which it contains, might very well be paralleled,—some of them may be still in existence, at this day,—in the wilder districts of Spain or Portugal, or even in the more out-of-the-way French

communes. But here we should have to do with the rudest country-folk, without education, and without the smallest knowledge of books. What gives Gervase his especial claim on our attention is the fact that he not only represents the learning of his time, but brings to bear on it an 'acquaintance with men and cities,'—a power of comparing opinions in different parts of the world—very rare at that date even among the greatest churchmen. He writes as a layman, and without any special prejudices. His book enables us to understand with tolerable clearness in what manner the mysteries of the universe presented themselves to the eyes of the most learned, at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

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ART. VII.—MEMOIR OF NORMAN MACLEOD, D.D.

*Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D.* By his Brother, the Rev. DONALD MACLEOD, M.A. Two Volumes. (London, 1876.)

THIS is a really good book, and, even in its present shape, a popular book; which does honour to its subject, and to its author, in their several degrees. It is, however, so good, that we wish it were made better; and this might be accomplished by a process of excision. Biography, and among other descriptions of it ecclesiastical biography, is in danger of losing its joint titles to durability and permanent interest through the vice of over-length. To record the life of a man in less than two portly volumes is already an invidious exception, and may soon be an insult. But posterity will be, as we are, under limitations of time and strength, and many works may perish in two volumes, which might have lived in one; or, again, in three or four, which might have lived in two.

In the present instance, it is not difficult to point to the heads, under which retrenchments might be rather largely effected. The wit and humour of Dr. Norman Macleod, on which his brother dwells with a natural fondness, appear to us to belong to the category of what is with more strict propriety called fun; and of this it is the characteristic property that it serves to refresh a wearied spirit, and enliven the passing hour; but that it will hardly bear repetition, and is hardly

among the candidates for literary immortality. One or two specimens might fairly be given, as illustrative of the man. In any other view, this class of material is like the froth of an effervescent liquor; it dies in the moment of its birth; it brightens an occasion, it deadens a book. The same is to be said of the multitude of caricature sketches, with which the Doctor playfully adorned his letters to friends. Some of them may have merit as comic drawings, but nine-tenths of them at least ought certainly to be dismissed from a biography. The tracts, again, which appear as reprints in the Appendices, belong to his Works, not to his Life; and we can well believe that there must or may be others of his productions which deserve to be reprinted, for his oratorical power appears to have been peculiar in its freshness and its sympathetic energy. Besides all this, we should desire a great contraction, for a reason presently to be stated, of those parts of the work which belong to the region of religious experience. All the suggestions now made are offered in the hope that a Biography of Macleod, rendered more compact by a free application of the pruning-knife, might hold a permanent place in the ecclesiastical literature of Scotland.

For this is, according to our mind, a really valuable biography, even in its present form. The Anglican position is marked off by various lines of doctrine, discipline, and spirit from that of the Scottish Established Church. But there is much in these volumes with which we ought to cherish an entire and cordial sympathy; and even when differences of opinion and position intervene, there is still material from which we ought to draw some valuable lessons.

The outline of Dr. Macleod's personal career is simple. The son of a Highlander and Scottish minister, whose venerable and noble appearance did not bely his high character, he grew up, with a directness of purpose as complete as if it had been covered by a vow or a special dedication, for and into the ministry of the Scottish Church. She laid on him, in the phrase of Wordsworth, 'the strong hand of her purity.' He did not receive much of the education which is to be had from books, and from the discipline of schools and universities; and the lack or loss of it he frequently and ingenuously laments. He was, however, always gathering the education of society and the world; and in this sense, visiting Germany in early life, he obtained, shall we say he picked up, a varied and rather extensive training. It is plain that, besides other and higher gifts, he was an extremely clever, ready, perceptive and receptive man. None of his experience passed by him

idly like the wind ; all had fruit for him ; all left a mark upon his mind and character. He was first placed in the south-western parish of Loudoun, where he found himself among a population made up of archaic covenanting puritans and modern questioning weavers, under the shadow of the residence of the noble family of Hastings. Here (for a time) he lived in loving and active pastoral relations with both high and low. Indeed, the low for him were high ; for in the very spirit of Saint Augustine, who saw Christ in the poor, Macleod desired (i. 329) 'to see kings and queens shining through their poor raiment.' It was on this arena that, when he commenced his energetic visitations, dispensing freely words of comfort and instruction, he entered the cottage of a veritable Mause Headrigg, who happened to be stone-deaf. The old lady, however, was fully prepared for his onslaught, and proceeded, not to receive, but to administer catechetical discipline. She motioned to him to sit down by her, planted her trumpet in her ear, and concisely gave him her Charge in the words, 'Gang ower the fundamentals.' Here and elsewhere he stood the test ; and he so endeared himself to the parish that it bore, at least at the moment, the shock of the great disruption of 1843, almost without seeming to feel it. But the sudden avoidance, at that crisis, of almost all the prominent posts in the Kirk, created an irresistible necessity for the advancement of the most promising among the residuary ministers. Mr. Macleod was accordingly transferred to Dalkeith ; and again, after no long period, to the great parish of the Barony in Glasgow. He immediately developed, upon this broader stage, the same powers of activity and devoted benevolence and zeal, which had marked his career from the first ; and there seems to have been no department of ministerial duty, private or public, ecclesiastical or social, which escaped his vigilance, or exhausted his powers.

In the later portion of his life, the whole of which did but number sixty years, from 1812 to 1872, calls of a kind wholly extraneous to his parochial work were made upon him, to an extent perhaps without parallel in the history of his Church. He became a leader in the business of the Church. He undertook a missionary tour to America, and afterwards to India. The whole of this subject had a great attraction for his mind, and occupied much of his time. His constant habit of travelling for needful relaxation perhaps promoted his tendency to take a wider *conspectus* of religious interests than is usual in Scotland. Resorting to London, he warmly promoted the scheme of the Evangelical Alliance ; until, after some time,

he was repelled by what he thought narrowness. He freely lent his aid in the pulpits of the Nonconformists. On account probably of his genial and popular qualities, he was sought out by Mr. Strahan, the Publisher, and became the editor of *Good Words*, as well as a frequent contributor to its pages. Amidst all these calls, freely and largely answered, he became, some years before the death of the Prince Consort, a Court preacher and Court favourite. It would appear that to no person in the profession of a clergyman or pastor has her Majesty accorded so large a share, not only of friendship, but of intimate personal confidence, as to Doctor Macleod. Nor does it appear that this favour was purchased by any manner of undue subserviency. His varied employments, avocations in the strictest sense of the word, called him much, and for long periods, away from his vast parish, which must have been left somewhat largely to the care of substitutes. Yet a large part of his heart always remained there, and he probably exercised much active care even from a distance. He was a man who would not have neglected his flock, even if he had dared to do so; but in Scotland he would be as bold as well as bad man who, especially in the case of such a flock, should hazard the experiment. It seems plain that Dr. Macleod returned the confidence and affection of the people in its fulness to the last. His unwearied labours led, in course of time, to great derangement of health, with much acute pain. Against all this he struggled with an heroic spirit. But on June 16, 1872, he succumbed to a peaceful and happy death; and he lies buried under a marble cross in the churchyard of Campsie, where his father had once been minister, and around which clustered many of his own happiest memories.

So much for the form of his biography, and for the shell or outer facts of his life. Let us now endeavour to obtain a nearer view both of his personality, and of his relation, in thought and action, to the great movements of the time. For such men are not born every day: and though Scotland has been remarkable for its abundance of zealous and able ministers, Dr. Macleod, who was this, was also much more. He stands out, we think, as having supplied, after Dr. Chalmers, one of the most distinguished names in the history of Presbyterianism.

In some respects, much after Dr. Chalmers; in others probably before him. He had not, so far as we see, the philosophic faculty of Chalmers, nor his intensity, nor his gorgeous gift of eloquence, nor his commanding passion, nor his absolute simplicity, nor his profound, and, to others, sometimes embar-

rassing humility. Chalmers, whose memory, at a period more than forty years back, is still fresh in the mind of the writer of these pages, was, indeed, a man greatly lifted out of the region of mere flesh and blood. He may be compared with those figures who, in Church history or legend, are represented as risen into the air under the influence of religious emotion. Macleod, on the other hand, had more shrewdness, more knowledge of the world, and far greater elasticity and variety of mind. Chalmers was rather a man of one idea, at least one idea at a time; Macleod receptive on all hands and in all ways. Chalmers had a certain clumsiness, as of physical, so of mental gait; Macleod was brisk, ready, mobile. Both were men devoted to God; eminently able, earnest, energetic; with great gifts of oratory, and large organizing power. A Church that had them not may well envy them to a Church that had them. Nor do they stand alone. The Presbyterianism of Scotland, which has done but little for literature or for theology, has, notwithstanding, been adorned, during the last fifty years by the names of many remarkable persons, men of high and pure character: with great gifts of government and construction, like Candlish; of winning and moving oratory like Guthrie; and only a notable fertility in the production of such men could have enabled the National Establishment of that small country to endure the fearful drain, which has been brought upon it, since its establishment at the Revolution, by repeated catastrophes within its borders.

And it is with reference to these particular departments of excellence that we would venture earnestly to commend the life of Macleod to the consideration of the English clergy; who, trained and fed under a more catholic system, should never be content to allow any gift either to escape them, or to remain with them only in an imperfect development. As respects government, the Presbyterian communions have derived very great benefit, in some important respects, from their regular and elaborate internal organisation. It has given them the advantages which in the civil order belong to local self-government and representative institutions: orderly habits of mind, respect for adversaries, and some of the elements of a judicial temper; the development of a genuine individuality, together with the discouragement of mere arbitrary will and of all eccentric tendency; the sense of a common life; the disposition energetically to defend it; the love of law combined with the love of freedom; and, last not least, the habit of using the faculty of speech with a direct and immediate view to persuasion. We do not doubt but that similar advantages



of mental and practical habit will be derived by our own clergy from that revival of ecclesiastical organization, in which this generation of bishops, clergy, and churchmen has made laudable and considerable progress. But we have yet much ground to cover: these things are not done in a day. Yet more, perhaps, have we to learn from that more practical habit of preaching, which prevails in the higher Scottish pulpits. We do not mean practical in the sense in which it is distinguished from the devotional, but in this broader sense, that the sermon is delivered with the living intention and determination to act upon the mind of the hearer, and to carry him along with the movement of the preacher's mind. Many an English clergyman will think that, if he has embodied in his sermon a piece of good divinity, the deed is done, the end of preaching is attained. But the business of a sermon is to move as well as teach, and if he teaches only without moving, may it not almost be said that he sows by the wayside? It is often said, censoriously, to be a great advantage possessed by the clergy, that no one can answer them. To a bad clergyman this may be an advantage, in respect that it allows him to remain bad, and to grow worse with impunity. But to the true preacher or speaker it surely is far otherwise. It relaxes that healthy tension, that bracing sense of responsibility, under which we must habituate ourselves to act, if we are ever to do anything that is worth the doing. It is no advantage, but rather a temptation and a snare.

The hint conveyed in these remarks does not principally touch the question that may be raised as to the relative merits of written and unwritten sermons. The sermons of Dr. Macleod were, it appears, to a great extent, written but not read. The sermons of Dr. Chalmers were certainly in some cases, if not in all, both written and read. But all Scotch ministers of any note who read their sermons take, or used to take, good care to read as if reading not. To a great extent, Scottish sermons were delivered without book, having been committed to memory. When notes were used, they were sometimes, as much as might be, concealed on a small shelf within the pulpit, for the people had a prejudice, almost a superstition, against 'the papers,' and could not reconcile them with the action of the Holy Ghost in the preaching of the Gospel. Reading, pure and simple, was very rare. Apart from the question of the merit of this or that form in the abstract, there was a traditional and almost universal idea of preaching as a kind of spiritual wrestling with a congregation; and the better professors of the art entered into it as athletes, and strove habitually and throughout

to get a good 'grip' of the hearer, as truly and as much as a Cumbrian wrestler struggles, with persistent and varied movement, to get a good grip of his antagonist. To give effect to this idea, in preaching or in other speaking, the hearers must be regarded in some sense as one. All fear of the individual must be discarded. Respect for the body may be maintained, and may be exhibited by pleading, by expostulating, by beseeching; but always with a reserve and underthought of authority, of a title to exhort, rebuke, convince. It is really the constitution of a direct and intimate personal relation, for the moment, between preacher and hearers, which lies at the root of the matter; such a relation as establishes itself spontaneously between two persons, who are engaged in an earnest practical conversation to decide whether some given thing shall or shall not be done; and for this reason it is that we suggest that the mass of living humanity gathered in a congregation should perhaps be dealt with as one, and that, unless in exceptional junctures, the preacher might find a pathway of power, as the singer, the instrumentalist, or the actor does, in treating a crowd as an unity. What has been said is said tentatively, and so to speak provocatively, not to offer the solution of a great problem, but at any rate to set others upon solving it. For a great problem it is: and a solution is required. The problem is how, in the face of the press, the tribune, the exchange, the club, the multiplied solicitations of modern life, to awaken in full the dormant powers of the pulpit, which, though it has lost its exclusive privileges, is as able as it ever was manfully to compete for, and to share in, the command of the human spirit, and of the life it rules. The Church cannot, indeed, do what she will, make her twenty thousand ministers produce good sermons at the rate of two millions a year. She knows very well that to be good preachers without book, they must be good theologians; and that with all the holy and watchful care they are bound to exercise in all the parts of divine service, it is far more difficult for them, than for those who have no liturgy, to collect and concentrate themselves with full power upon the act of preaching. If the priests have the highest office to discharge, they must be content and glad to face the greatest difficulties: and some aid in the task, we are confident, they may obtain from a careful study of the methods pursued in the Italian and in other foreign pulpits; or more generally, and for all who have not the Continent within reach, by noticing and digesting the practice in our own country of non-Anglican, and certainly not least of Scottish Presbyterian pulpits.

On the faculty and habit of government, as they are cherished in the same quarter, we have already said as much as our limited space permits ; and the volumes before us, though they do not elaborately treat the points we have been considering, are full of passages which illustrate them : the spontaneous, inartificial thoughts of the earnest actor when he was off the stage.

We pass to what is yet more closely personal to Dr. Macleod. Scottish Presbyterianism, as a whole, has been, in history, singularly isolated from the thought and movement of the rest of the Christian world. It was, at any rate until lately, a system eminently stark ; and the framework of theological thought, even down to forty years ago, had undergone little or no perceptible change since the days of Andrew Melvill. 'Calvinism' in Scotland did not mean the profession of a school or party ; it meant Christianity, meant it without doubt or question ; and this too at a time when, to say nothing of Germany, the Calvinists of Switzerland, of Holland, and of France had for the most part passed into rationalism or something more. In the youth of Dr. Macleod himself (vol. ii. 71), we find one of the latest indications of this state of things, where he reckons on the need and advantage of 'a sound Calvinistic theology.' But he lived on ; and he did not shut his ears to the strokes of the battering-ram on the walls of the house ; they quivered all around him ; and in his riper life, this man, in no small degree a typical man for intelligent Scotland, honestly admits that he is out of harmony with the Confession of Faith concocted by the Westminster Assembly. So early, indeed, as in 1842, he writes to a dear friend (i. 166) : 'There are many points in theology, upon which I somehow think you are destined like myself to undergo a change.' Indeed he was sorely put about ; and perhaps it was only the elasticity and buoyancy of his cheerful spirit, which kept the conflicting elements in his mind from coming to some sharp crisis. The Disruption occurred when he was not yet thirty-one. He refused to join the high-hearted band who, in May of that year, marching out of the Hall of the General Assembly, marched by that act out of kirk and school, glebe and teind, house and home ; and without doubt, in remaining where he was, he acted solely as they did, on a sense of duty. But the iron necessity of the position compelled him to strain to its topmost bent the argument in favour of fixed Confessions of faith. For he was an 'Establishmentarian' from top to toe. He did not indeed stoop to Erastianism. The Church and the State, independent societies, had, in his view, made a

treaty upon terms, and these terms were expressed in Confessions. According to him, the capital offence of the Free Kirk lay in its declining to observe that, as its Confession had become law, it must be interpreted like other laws, and by the same authority. So in his view the Veto Act of 1834, and the claim of spiritual independence, were capital offences, for they were breaches of faith, repudiations of a solemn treaty with the State. Of this theory he was a leading champion; and he defended it, as his manner was, with all his heart, and mind, and soul, and strength. Yet on the very question of Subscription, it soon appears that he came into undeniable conflict with himself. In ii. 291, he desires to get free from it; but in ii. 300, he does not see how the Church, or any section of it, 'can exist without a creed, expressed or administered in some form or other.' There could not be a more cruel irony of fate than that the man, who had quite conscientiously assailed the Free Kirk for dissolving the alliance, should himself enthusiastically maintain it to the end along with the whole doctrine of State interpretation, and yet should take to interpreting the Confession of Faith for himself, and this is not in points few and doubtful, but with a latitude and boldness which amounts to a 'root-and-branch' reformation of his 'sound Calvinistic theology.' The Confession taught most unequivocally, and perhaps crudely, the doctrine of the eternal punishment of the lost: he seems to have sapped its foundation (ii. 345, 382). The Confession taught the redemption of a few; he extended it to all, and he held (ii. 117-8) that Christ's sufferings were not penal. The Confession disposed of men by irrespective decrees; he judged them by their works. The Confession set up the strictest Sabbatarianism; he demolished it. A tenth part of the deviations and divergences of Dr. Macleod, not from Christianity, but from Calvinism, would have sufficed to convict an unfortunate 'Ritualist' or 'Puseyite' of treason and dishonesty; but he died minister of the Barony, honoured by the Court, popular in society, respected by every class (for we have the testimony of a working man, 'a' body likes the Doctor' (vol. ii. 58), and what is more, in possession, by unequivocal and official marks, of the full confidence of his Church.

He had indeed, at particular times, been in bad odour; and perhaps had narrow escapes from his alarmed co-religionists. At one period, during the Sabbath controversy, he writes (ii. 190):—'I felt at first so utterly cut off from every Christian brother, that had a chimney-sweep given me his sooty hand, and smiled upon me with his black face, I would

have welcomed his salute, and blessed him.' But partly they loved him, partly they could not afford to part with him. Partly too, perhaps, he atoned for his many and bold offences by an outspoken hatred of 'Puseyism.' He had a kindly feeling towards the English Church; but Puseyism, it seems, he could not abide. Such a hatred as this covers, and that in many quarters, a multitude of sins. His sympathetic nature led him (ii. 267) to communicate in the Free Church, but he shows much displeasure, and even some irritation, against it as 'Presbyterian Puseyism' (i. 260); and again (ii. 53), 'Laud and the Covenanters were just the same men on different sides, except that what one called Church the other called Kirk.'

A good deal, not of the man, but of what is of lower quality in the man, comes out in 1839 (i. 136): 'I have a horror for Puseyism. I fear it is of more danger to religion than voluntaryism.'

He had but an imperfect appreciation, says Principal Shairp (i. 144), of Newman's sermons. Again, it seems that the venom of the system penetrated even within the precinct of the Evangelical Alliance. Attending its conference in Paris (ii. 46), he had to make this entry: 'Heard a Puseyite sermon; horrid trash.'

But, all this notwithstanding, we find passages uttered or written by him which appear to convict him of nothing less than flat Puseyism. Many a man has been (morally) hanged, drawn, and quartered for less of it. He quotes in favour of an education beyond the grave the interpretation placed by 'the early Church' on the preaching 'to the spirits that are in prison' (ii. 343). He thought it right and not wrong to utter to God a devout aspiration for the peace and rest of a departed spirit (ii. 113). Nay, he even wrote (i. 286), 'The living Church is more than the dead Bible, for it is the Bible and something more.' And he complained (ii. 128), 'we ignore sixteen centuries almost.'

Apart from cavil, and even from careful scrutiny of expressions, the truth seems to be that the mind of Dr. Macleod was in a high and true sense catholic. But he had not the foundation of a solid training on which to rear his theology; and consequently he had not full possession of the grounds of dogma; while the particular scheme of it, which had been taught him in his youth, wholly failed to give satisfaction to his mind. Accordingly he lay open, within certain limits, to the attacks and wiles of the rationalising spirit, and to a certain extent tampered with its commonplaces. But he

could reject them upon occasion; he never was in his heart a rationalist, either as to the practical development of religion, or even as to the dogmatic principle. In proof of this proposition, let us take the following emphatic passage from his journal in 1870 (ii. 371) :—

‘I have been astounded by a most influential member of the Church saying to me: “What is it to me whether Christ worked miracles, or rose from the dead? We have got the right idea of God through Him. It is enough; *that* can never perish!” And this truth is like a flower, which has grown from a dunghill of lies and myths! Good Lord, deliver me from such conclusions! If the battle has come, let it: but before God I will fight it with those only, be they few or many, who believe in a risen, living Saviour. This revelation of the influence of surface criticism has thrown me back immensely upon all who hold fast by an objective revelation.’

Independently of the general direction of his mind, there was in him a certain fluctuation, not of piety, but of opinion, which was immediately due to his lively emotional nature, and his large and energetic sympathies. With every form of thought capable of wearing (for him) a favourable aspect he closed according to that aspect. Hence an intellectual, not a moral, inconstancy: and estimates almost contradictory, within brief periods, of the state and prospects of his Church, and of its rivals. Even voluntarism, which once stood next to Puseyism in the scale of deadly sins, must have worn off some of its hateful features in his view; for in 1871 he says (ii. 350), ‘I do not fear Disestablishment.’

The consequence of all this is that we are to seek in the life and words of Macleod rather for moral, religious, and practical, than for intellectual and scientific lessons. Though his bark was driven out to sea over the abysses of speculation, he wanted either the powers, or the apparatus, to sound them. His intellect availed to raise questions, not to answer them; and his large heart and fine character neutralised the dangers which to a man of lower turn, and less of true heavenward bent, might have been very formidable.

He carried on from first to last, in his journals, the work of religious introspection. Repeated so often, it almost offers to readers the appearance of routine; and on this account perhaps many of the passages might have been spared, for they are in general elementary as to their character and range. They do not resemble the systematic work of those who go on digging, deeper and deeper, by a continuous process, into the profound mysteries of the human heart. The imperious and violent demands of external duty prevented him from



achieving what, in a more tranquil sphere, he might probably have accomplished with a more exercised and collected spirit. He was well aware, too, of his own difficulties of temperament in this respect, and has recorded them (ii. 76): 'The outer world of persons and things I always relished so intensely, that I required an extra effort to keep to quiet reading and prayer.' But they did not preclude him from recording with great force and freshness abundant manifestations of an ingenuous mind, and a devoted self-renouncing heart. For example (ii. 317), in 1870:—

'God knows me better than I know myself. He knows my gifts and powers, my feelings and my weaknesses, what I can do and not do. So I desire to be led, and not to lead; to follow Him; and I am quite sure that He has thus enabled me to do a great deal more in ways which seem to me almost a waste of life, in advancing His kingdom, than I could have done in any other way: I am sure of that. Intellectually I am weak. In scholarship nothing. In a thousand things a baby. He knows this: and so He has led me, and greatly blessed me, who am nobody, to be of some use to my Church and fellow-men. How kind, how good, how compassionate, art thou, O God!

'Oh, my Father, keep me humble. Help me to have respect towards my fellow-men, to recognize their several gifts as from Thee. Deliver me from the diabolical sins of malice, envy, or jealousy, and give me hearty joy in my brother's good, in his work, in his gifts and talents: and may I be truly glad in his superiority to myself, if Thou art glorified. Root out all weak vanity, all devilish pride, all that is abhorrent to the mind of Christ. God, hear my prayer. Grant me the wondrous joy of humility, which is seeing Thee as all in all.'

Again, he was too good and true a man to test religion by abundance of words. One of the fond and almost idolizing attachments of his life (and it was distinguished for affectionate friendships) was to Campbell of Row, who was deposed, under the stern prescriptions of the Westminster Confession, for teaching what is termed universal redemption. Macleod preached his funeral sermon; and thus finely comments on his deathbed: 'He spoke not much of religion when dying. His silent death was, like his life, an Amen to God's will.'

In most points, Macleod's deviations from the Westminster Confession were approximations to the belief of the Church of England. Most men will regard with an indiscriminating satisfaction the relinquishment of grim and dreary tenets, which, when taken in their rigour, seem to impair the grand moral base of the Divine character. The rather judaical Sabbatarianism of Scotland, like the Calvinistic formulæ, was

simply a form of Protestant tradition, founded neither in the word of God nor in the general consent of Christendom. Still, we must plead guilty to regarding with very mixed emotions the crumbling away of these conventional theologies. It was plain that such an end must come ; but the question is, are they ready for it, and then, what is to come next ? When a great void was made in the religious system of Scotland by utterly sweeping away the Divine office of the Church, the gap was filled up by broader as well as more rigid conceptions of the corporeal perfection (so to speak) and absolute authority of the Scriptures of the Old as well as the New Testament. The judaizing tendency, but too evident in the Covenanters and Puritans, had at least this advantage, that they fell back upon a code ; and that they were enabled to give to their religious system a completeness and detail, which had in other days been sought in the historical developments of the Christian society. We have some fear lest it should be found that when the wood, hay, straw, and stubble are swept away, they may be found to have departed without leaving any firmer or other substitute behind them. For any system, civil or religious, to come to a breach with its traditions is a great, even though not always the greatest calamity ; and, remembering what in other countries has become of Calvinism after once it has put to sea, we feel some anxiety to know what will be its fate in Scotland, and who will be its eventual heirs.

Be this as it may, Dr. Macleod had always the courage of his opinions ; and he was prepared to face the contingencies of the future by frankly casting the Church Establishment of Scotland upon the tide of popular sentiment. But without making the smallest deduction from the respect and admiration due to his memory, we doubt whether the course upon which he helped to embark that body was a safe one. On this subject he was without doubt eminently consistent. In 1843 he foretold that patronage must be given up to save the Church ; and in 1871 he gave his weighty countenance to the movement, which terminated in the Act of 1874 for its abolition. But perhaps he was more consistent, than wise. The Established Church of Scotland is in a decided minority of the population. It claims 42 per cent., a little over two-fifths of the whole ; it is allowed to have 36 per cent., somewhat beyond one-third. Let us take it nearly at its own estimate, and suppose it has a full two-fifths. Is it, then, so easy to justify in argument the position of an establishment of religion for a minority of the population, as to make it prudent for such a body to assume against a clear nonconforming majority

what has to them the aspect of an aggressive attitude? In the view of that majority, the Patronage Act of 1874, which gave the appointment of established ministers to the people of their communion, was an attempt to bid and buy back piecemeal within the walls those who had been ejected wholesale. It was resented accordingly; and, by means of that Act, the controversy of disestablishment, which had been almost wholly asleep beyond the Tweed, has been roused to an activity, and forced into a prominence, which may make it the leading Scottish question at the next general election, and which is not without possible moment or meaning, to a limited extent, even for England. Of Scottish Episcopalianism we shall here say nothing, except that it is, in nearly every diocese, harmonious and moderately progressive; and that Dr. Macleod regarded it (ii. 84) as a somewhat formidable antagonist. He even thought (i. 153) that 'an episcopal era is near for Scotland's ecclesiastical history;' and reckoned the adoption of several among its principles and usages as a main part (ii. 322) of the apparatus necessary in order to enable the Kirk to grapple successfully with its future. In ecclesiastical policy we cannot resist the impression that he was, without knowing it, somewhat of a Rupert. But in estimating a life and character, the question rarely turns on the correctness of this or that opinion held. Least of all could it so turn in the case of Macleod. For there are few men in whom emotion more conspicuously towered above mere opinion, and conduct above both. Brave and tender, manful and simple, profoundly susceptible of enjoyment, but never preferring it to duty; overflowing with love, yet always chivalrous for truth; full of power, full of labour, full of honour, he has died, and has bequeathed to us for a study, which we hope will reach far beyond the bounds of his communion and denomination, the portrait of a great orator and pastor, and a true and noble-hearted man.

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## ART. VIII.—THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

1. *Eight Months at Rome during the Vatican Council. Impressions of a Contemporary.* By POMPONIO LETO. Translated from the Original. (London: John Murray, 1876.)
2. *Letters from Rome on the Council.* By QUIRINUS. Authorised Translation. (Rivingtons, 1870.)
3. *Tagebuch während des Vaticanischen Concils geführt von Dr. J. FRIEDRICH.* (Nördlingen, 1871.)
4. *Documenta ad Illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum anni 1870.* Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Dr. J. FRIEDRICH. (Nördlingen, 1871.)
- 5 *The Vatican Council and its Definitions: A Pastoral Letter.* By HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster. (London: Longmans, 1870.)

THE five works named at the head of this article have a close relation to one another, though it is with the first only, by Pomponio Leto, that we are immediately concerned here. But we have two reasons for thus placing them in juxtaposition. In the first place, the three diaries, by Pomponio Leto, Quirinus, and Friedrich—to which the collection of official documents edited by the latter form a supplement—contain the only detailed and authentic records as yet published of the proceedings of the Vatican Council; and in the next place, as might be expected under the circumstances, they most remarkably confirm each other on every point,—the two first especially, which are the fullest. All three emanate from writers who had the best possible opportunities of obtaining accurate information, either as being themselves present in the Council, or being in habitual contact with those who were present. Dr. Friedrich was theologian to Cardinal Hohenlohe, under whose guidance he wrote. It was well understood in Rome at the time that all the facts in the *Letters of Quirinus* were supplied by a personage in close attendance on another distinguished prelate, and acting under his authority. The statements of Pomponio Leto rest, if possible, on still more direct authority. The English translator informs us that it is 'the work of a sincere and liberal Roman Catholic,' who 'had peculiar means and opportunities

of *closely observing* the incidents which he depicts.' The editors of the original edition, published at Rome two years and a half ago, say still more explicitly that 'this manuscript, containing a sort of chronicle of the Vatican Council,' was placed in their hands; adding that it 'is beyond doubt that the author *was eye-witness of all he relates*, as the book itself proves;' <sup>1</sup> and the author, in his introduction, claims for it 'a certain stamp of reality,' as containing 'a simple chronicle' of what he had either personally witnessed and remembered, or had received on equivalent authority. When we put together these various notices, it is clear that part at least of the volume must have been actually written, and the whole information supplied by a member of the Council. And this is confirmed by several incidental touches occurring here and there, which betray unmistakably the hand of an eye-witness. Thus, for instance, we read in one place of the debate being 'much hotter than appears from the written observations;' and elsewhere, of the 'sarcastic smiles' of the Opposition; and again, of 'the dissentient Cardinals drawing their scarlet hats down over their eyes.' Nor is there any shadow of doubt as to the real source of the information.

*Pomponio Leto*, as we will for convenience' sake call the book, was edited by the Marchese Vitelleschi, and passes as his work, but the language of the preface implies a plural authorship, and in Italy it is well understood to represent the views of his brother, the late Cardinal Vitelleschi, who was present in the Council as Bishop of Osimo, and is known to have kept a journal of the proceedings, which is undoubtedly the 'chronicle' of which the editors speak. A formal denial of his authorship has indeed been obtained from Rome by Cardinal Manning, who has abundant reasons, as will appear in the sequel, for wishing to discredit the authority of the record, but the denial can only be accepted in a conventional and, so to speak, parliamentary sense. Even the *Tablet*, a leading organ of English Ultramontaniam, was obliged to admit, in a studiously cautious and almost courteous review of the book, that 'the Marquis Vitelleschi, living under the same roof, may have, *and doubtless did*, keep up a constant communication of ideas with his brother,' though it denied that the Cardinal took any part 'in the preparation of the work.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original is much stronger: 'Che il libro sia fatto da un contemporaneo non può essere altrimenti; che questi sia anche stato presente a tutti quelli avvenimenti, non ve ne ha dubbio; ogni cosa nel libro lo dice, e vi si sente da capo a fondo.'

<sup>2</sup> *Tablet*, May 6, 1876.

That he should leave it to the Marquis to prepare the sheets for the press was only natural, partly in order that a denial might be given to any allegation of his authorship; but that it conveys his ideas, and to a great extent his actual words, and that the minute information about matters in Council comes direct from him, is morally certain. It was necessary to begin by insisting on this point, in order to make it quite clear that *Pomponio Leto* supplies a third link of the most binding force in that threefold *catena* of evidence to which Quirinus and Friedrich had already contributed their accordant testimony.

We have not yet explained why Archbishop (now Cardinal) Manning's Pastoral on the Council has been added to the list of works named at the head of this paper. It is because the author would have us believe that the account of the proceedings which has just received afresh so striking a confirmation, is a series of impudent and baseless falsehoods, and he has devoted the first thirty or forty pages of his Pastoral to establishing a counter statement, which is, on almost every single point, at direct issue with *Pomponio*; and the reader will bear in mind that in quoting *Pomponio*, we are appealing to the testimony, if not to the actual words, of Cardinal Vitelleschi. Cardinal Manning must be considered, alike from position and ability, the leading representative, at least in this country, of the Ultramontane view of the Vatican Council and its dogmas, the promulgation of which—as *Pomponio* is careful again and again to insist—he was the chief instrument in procuring. It is, therefore, important to inquire how far his version of what he calls 'the history of the Council' is borne out by the testimony of equally competent witnesses, and especially by the last witness who has come forward to give evidence in the person of Cardinal Vitelleschi. And it will be worth while, with this view, to compare the historical portion of his Pastoral with the statements of *Pomponio*.

It opens with a scornful attack on the absurd misrepresentations of the English newspapers, which is thus summed up: 'Read carefully the correspondence from Rome published in England; believe the reverse, and you will not be far from the truth.' No doubt the foreign correspondents of our newspapers are apt to be very much at sea on religious and ecclesiastical questions, and a great deal of unreliable, and sometimes nonsensical, matter appeared in the *Times* and other journals during the Vatican Council, but even to this there were exceptions. The *Standard* was better informed than the *Times*; the *Times* had, during the earlier period of the Council,



an occasional correspondent, who also wrote letters for the *Spectator*, whose information was thoroughly trustworthy, as far as it went; the articles which appeared week by week in the *Saturday Review*, and were mainly based on the letters in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, afterwards collected under the name of *Quirinus*, contained far the best contemporary record of the Council in this country, and were very seldom inaccurate. But apart from this reservation, whose fault was it that English newspaper correspondents were so ill-informed? No one knows better than Cardinal Manning that one of the first orders issued before the opening of the Council was a strict prohibition to all concerned, whether the Fathers, or their theologians, officials, &c., 'to divulge or manifest to any outside the Council the decrees or other matters to be examined, or the discussions or opinions of any that are present,'<sup>1</sup> and after the first week or two the *Osservatore Romano* was forbidden even to publish the names of the speakers.<sup>2</sup> It is true, indeed, that this order was very generally disregarded by the Bishops, who were in the habit of freely discussing the events of the day every evening with their secretaries, and often with other friends, so that no one who was in a position to ask for accurate information had any difficulty in obtaining it; and in fact what took place in Council was perfectly well known from day to day to those really interested in the matter. But Protestants, and particularly English Protestants, were less likely than others to have access to reliable sources of information, nor would newspaper correspondents form any exception; not to add—what was notorious in Rome at the time—that *canards* were frequently got up and circulated by the Ultramontane party for the express purpose of misleading them. The ministers of other States, whether Catholic or Protestant, were supplied daily with reports by their own Bishops, and no one was more completely *au courant* with all that went on, or took a more intelligent interest in it, than Count Arnim, who then represented Prussia.

From the newspapers Cardinal Manning proceeds to a violent attack on 'the infamous matter' of *Fanus* and *Quirinus*, and in support of the latter indictment he quotes Bishop Ketteler, who says that 'every letter contains gross perversions and untruths,' that the whole work is 'an uninterrupted series of falsehoods,' and that his own name is never mentioned 'without the appendage of a falsehood.' The two angry prelates might have remembered that it is possible to

<sup>1</sup> *Pomponio Leto*, p. 23. An oath to this effect was imposed on all the officials present, but not on the Bishops.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 54.

'protest too much.' If the *Letters* of Quirinus are a 'series of falsehoods,' the same censure must be passed on *Pomponio Lcto* for endorsing all their most controverted statements. We do not know whether Bishop Ketteler now disavows his responsibility for the *Quæstio*, a vigorous treatise against infallibilism which stands first among Friedrich's *Documenta*, but it is well known to have been composed by Father de Buck, the Bollandist, under his auspices, and circulated by him during the Council. We do know that the late Bishop of Montpellier published what was meant to be taken as a denial of the authorship of two very strong letters on the same side, which had appeared in some of the French newspapers, and one of them in the *Times* also, although the manuscript in his own writing is still extant and in the hands of the Abbé Michaud. These subsequent denials have to be taken much in the sense of the retractation of the Irish M.P. who was required to apologize for calling a brother Member a liar: — 'I said it, it's true, and I'm sorry for it.' The Cardinal next falls foul of the newspaper reports of an uproar in the Council Hall, on occasion of the speeches of Strossmayer and Schwarzenberg, and of the presiding Legates losing their temper; and he returns to the subject again in a later passage of the Pastoral, to insist that no scenes of violence or disorder ever took place; that 'for gravity, dignity, calmness, self-respect, mutual forbearance, courtesy, and self-control,' no assembly ever equalled the Vatican Council, nor 'was there ever a greater unanimity.' If so, certainly hardly a letter of *Quirinus* or a chapter of *Pomponio* can be trusted. But as to the details stigmatized as 'calumnious falsehoods,' let us hear the testimony of the latter. First, as to the speeches of Schwarzenberg and Strossmayer:

'The intolerance of the majority was further provoked by some words in which, while discussing the second subject, justice was rendered to certain Protestants by name; and here a second outbreak occurred, more violent than any which had yet taken place. Schwarzenberg, whose speech had been the first occasion of the storm, was ordered to desist by the Legate, De Angelis; and on attempting to begin again, met with so much interruption by cries of "Sileat" from the majority, that he was obliged to omit some of his discourse, and bring it to an abrupt conclusion. Strossmayer, who caused the second tempest, was three times ordered to stop by the Legate, Capalti, the last time in a way anything but courteous. He replied that he was tired of being thus called to order, and thwarted on every point; that such proceedings were incompatible with freedom of debate, and that he protested against them. At this a storm broke forth, the Fathers left their seats and crowded round

the tribune ; threats and menaces of every sort—"e suon di man con elle ;" cries of "Viva Pio IX.!" "Vivan i Cardinali Legati!" were heard in different accents in the no longer venerable assembly. One Cardinal cried, "You protest against us, we protest against you ;" and other utterances equally serious and serene proceeded from every part of the hall ; in fact, the uproar was so formidable, that some confusion ensued outside, in the church itself. Certain partisans of Infallibility, on hearing the disturbance, imagined that it signified the spontaneous passing of that dogma by acclamation, as had been predicted, and were ready to add their shouts of triumph on the happy event ; others, of a contrary opinion, prepared to mock at these rejoicings ; and St. Peter's was very nearly the scene of a tumult. The ubiquitous gendarme, however, who is the last argument in every discussion, and the strongest and most effective instrument of every sort of Infallibility, here interfered, ordered off the crowd—who were pressing eagerly round the door of the Council Hall, and met with no resistance save from the servants of some of the Bishops, who, on hearing the cries from within, feared that their masters were threatened by some dangers in the tumultuous assembly, and tried to enter the hall to assist them.<sup>1</sup>

This was in March. In June another great uproar took place, when the Bishop of Savanah was speaking, and on this occasion too, the 'Presidents, Capalti and De Angelis, quite lost their temper, and a scene of anger and excitement ensued very similar to that which occurred in March.'<sup>2</sup> Later in the same month, when Cardinal Guidi astonished his colleagues by speaking against the proposed dogma, 'the infallibilist Fathers turned to him with violent gestures, and marks of extreme displeasure.'<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Manning must have rather a treacherous memory. He is not more happy in his next attack, on the veracity of some English journal for stating that the parish priests of Rome had declined to petition in favour of infallibility, and refusing to report, when called upon to do so, that they had unanimously petitioned for it in the most explicit form. Our author's account of the matter is very different. At a parochial meeting of the Roman clergy in March, it had been decided not to petition in favour of the dogma. What followed shall be told in the words of *Pomponio*, as the passage has an importance of its own independently of the particular fact recorded :—

'By some chance, the newspapers got hold of this incident, which at once acquired weight from the fact that, as the parish priests are the best and most active among the clergy of Rome, the special diocese of the Pope, it was now apparent to the world that they were, if not actually adverse, but little inclined to Infallibility. The

<sup>1</sup> *Pomponio Leto*, pp. 128-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 189.

authorities immediately intervened with all the force which, in conformity with ecclesiastical law, they could exercise upon those subject to them; they intimated to the priests that they must repair the scandal, and *strongly advised* that an address should be framed. The parochial clergy accordingly drew up a form, which, though apparently moderate, was to be understood by the public, who do not look narrowly into such matters, as favourable to Infallibility. Every one in Rome is acquainted with the history of that address. Some of the clergy evidently did violence to their own convictions; for as Infallibility was not yet declared, they were by no means bound to accept it from the duty of submission, but according to certain Ultramontane notions of discipline, authority has a conscience for all. This substitution of the dictates of an external authority for those of the individual conscience in all cases, is one of the chief causes of the evils that disturb Catholicism.<sup>1</sup>

On one point Cardinal Manning maintains an exceptional reserve, which is certainly discreet. The various stories about the partial and overbearing conduct of the Pope are too monstrous, and as he implies, blasphemous to require examination, and accordingly of this he 'shall say nothing.' He is wise. But *Pomponio*, in common with *Quirinus* and other chroniclers of the facts, says a good deal—more indeed than we have room to quote; we will give a few specimens. The Chaldean Patriarch, an aged and venerable man, was unwilling to surrender at Papal bidding the traditional laws and privileges of his Church. The Pope, therefore, summoned him to a private audience, in presence only of Monsignor Valerga, a violent Ultramontane, who acted as interpreter, and ordered him either to submit or resign his See then and there; he chose the second alternative. Soon afterwards his Holiness ordered the arrest of the Vicar-General of the Armenian Archbishop of Diarbekir, who had to appeal for protection to the Turkish Minister. It is not very wonderful, perhaps, that the larger portion of the Eastern Uniates have separated from Rome since the Council. In March, after the opposition speech of Cardinal Schwarzenberg already referred to, the Pope took occasion, in distributing some vestments to the Missionary Bishops (who are completely subject to the Curia) to throw out very broad hints of the line to be taken in Council, closing his address with 'Be united with me, and not with Revolution,' which last term, as *Pomponio* explains, was a synonym for the Opposition. In June, during the festival of Corpus Christi, the Sacred College presented, according to custom, an address of congratulation

<sup>1</sup> *Pomponio Leto*, p. 164.

to the Pope, which was full of allusions to his approaching 'apotheosis,' as *Pomponio* usually calls the new dogma. His Holiness replied by dividing the members of the Council into three parties: the Opposition, who were worldly, and cared for popularity more than truth; the waverers, for whom he implored divine enlightenment; and the infallibilists, who were walking in the paths of the Lord, and on whom he bestowed his benediction. When Cardinal Guidi spoke against the dogma, he was summoned to the Vatican, where the Pope bitterly reproached him, and on his appealing to tradition, replied, in the spirit of Louis XIV.'s famous aphorism, 'La Tradizione son io—vi farò far nuovamente la professione di fede.' This method of terrorism had its effect, for Guidi voted *placet*. When at the last moment some of the Opposition Bishops were earnestly entreating the Pope at least to modify the obnoxious formula, which they found themselves powerless to avert, two additions were introduced, between the voting of July 13, when the minority made their final protest, and the solemn promulgation, on July 18, after their departure from Rome. The first was an anathema against all dissentients; the second was a clause specifically excluding the episcopate from all share in the infallible judgments of the Church. *Pomponio* more than hints that both changes were due to the personal interposition of the Pope. The readers of *Quirinus* will be familiar with plenty of similar examples of his Holiness's observance of neutrality and respect for the independence of the Council, but these may suffice here.

Before giving his own account of what took place at the Vatican, Cardinal Manning appends to his detailed criticism a brief and satirical summary of what he calls the newspaper history, including the *Letters of Quirinus*. The Council was divided into a majority and minority; courage and intellect were chiefly to be found with the minority; the Presidents were imperious and intemperate, and the conduct of the majority was overbearing; the new regulation checked liberty of discussion, and a tyrannous majority at last cut it short by an arbitrary exercise of power, and forced the definition through. All which is strictly true, as will be evident to the readers of *Pomponio*. But a word may be said about the writer's reference to the new order of business or *regolamento*. Both the old and the new order were among the standing hardships against which the minority repeatedly but vainly protested, but the new order was the most flagrantly unjust of the two. The old order was received, according to *Pomponio*, with great disfavour by the Opposition, especially the article

restricting the initiation of all questions by the absolute fiat of a Congregation of Cardinals; moreover, instead of being discussed and settled by the Fathers themselves, as at Trent, it was imposed on them by a Papal Bull. But the new order, which was also imposed on the Council from above, and without their own concurrence, in February, was still more fatal to all freedom of discussion. One article authorised the Presidents to cut short a speaker whenever he wandered from the subject, of which they were the sole and arbitrary judges; another article directed that any debate might be brought to a close by a vote of the majority, whenever they considered it to be *satis excussa*, and the proposal for closing it, when made by not fewer than ten Fathers, was to be at once put to the vote. The fullest advantage was taken of both these arbitrary powers to crush the minority, who naturally believed that the articles were introduced with that express object. They bitterly complained that 'the new order vested decisive power in the majority rather than in the unanimity of the Fathers, and that it enabled the Presidents to encroach on the liberty of discussion.'

It will be pretty clear by this time that Cardinal Manning's sharp critique on what he treats as misrepresentations about the Council are not at all borne out by the testimony of his brother Cardinal. But neither is he more in harmony with *Pomponio*, when he comes to give his own version of the proceedings. Our readers will of course understand that we are not instituting this lengthened comparison simply with the view of discrediting the statements of the Pastoral, but because it enables us at the same time to bring out in bolder relief the main outline of the history as traced by our author. Cardinal Manning plunges at once *in medias res*, and opens his story with the very characteristic remark that 'the hopes and confidence of the miscellaneous alliance of *nominal Catholics* (that is, non-Ultramontanes), Protestants, rationalists, and unbelievers, received its first sharp check, when *some five hundred* Fathers of the Council desired of the Holy See that the doctrine of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff should be defined.' The real account of what took place will be found at pp. 58 *sqq.* of *Pomponio*. We may observe here that the 'nominal Catholics' who received their first check in the presentation of the Infallibilist address were the Opposition Bishops, who then numbered about 200. The signatories of the address did not, according to *Pomponio*, exceed 400, if there were so many, and the name of the Archbishop of Westminster, who had planned the move,



stood at the head of the list. It was presented as early as January, long before the subject could come in regular course before the Council, apparently in consequence of the failure of the original scheme for carrying the dogma by acclamation. But the answer to all objections was, that the presiding Cardinals had given their sanction, on which the comment of *Pomponio* is, that 'the only result of so indiscreet a proceeding was to expose the Curia Romma to the imputation of having sought, without any sense of what was becoming, to bring about its own apotheosis.' A second and more personal comment will have a special interest for English readers:

'The persistence of the Archbishop of Westminster was perhaps the logical result of his own antecedents. Having been a priest and a Protestant at the outset of his career, he knew his own religion from within and not from without, and the Catholic religion from without but not from within. He was well acquainted with the many divisions and sub-divisions of Protestantism, and admired the majestic unity of Catholicism. He did not appreciate the good effects of allowing a moderate degree of liberty, and the constant exercise of the conscience and reasoning powers; neither did he understand the dangers arising from the excessive authority exercised by United Catholicism. In fact, he was enamoured of the principle of authority as the slave adores the idea of liberty; and this want of discrimination and of real Catholic perception in his dealings with the Council was a matter of reproach to him even by the most faithful and devout clergy at Rome. As for all the other Infallibilist Bishops, we can only again remark that the ardour they manifested in following out their end was a phenomenon beyond the comprehension of the very Council itself.'<sup>1</sup>

With this may be collated a previous passage on the same subject; and we may be sure that the author is not speaking only for himself:

'Manning was not long since a Protestant, and not only joined the Catholic Church, but became Archbishop of Westminster: none are so devoted as converts; and the fact of having been in error the first half of his life did not hinder his becoming in the latter an ardent advocate of Infallibility. At any rate, as his antecedents justified the supposition that he was lacking in the traditional ecclesiastical spirit which is seldom acquired save by early habit and long usage, a presumption further supported by his own immoderate restlessness, it seemed likely that his authority would be somewhat diminished in the estimation of that portion of the clerical world whose principles, being conservative, are best able to exercise a calm and impartial judgment.'<sup>2</sup>

We have referred already to the second 'disappointment'

<sup>1</sup> *Pomponio Leto*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 22.

of the 'nominal Catholics,' who were summarily suppressed by the abrupt closing of the general discussion on the Infallibilist question by what Cardinal Manning calls the 'majestic firmness and unity of the Council' in availing itself of the arbitrary powers conferred by the new *regolamento*. *Pomponio* not only speaks of the 'surprise' and 'irritation' of the minority at this arbitrary procedure, but observes 'that it will greatly influence the judgment, not only of the present day, but of future ages, on the Vatican Council.' Nor can anything be more transparently fallacious than Cardinal Manning's comparison between the 'exemplary patience' of the Infallibilist Fathers in listening for so long to the arguments of their opponents and the impatient refusal of the House of Commons to listen to protracted debates. The House of Commons sits from year to year; Œcumenical Councils have usually assembled only at intervals of centuries. Acts of Parliament deal with matters of discipline only—to use ecclesiastical language—which are always liable to repeal or revision, and are often, in fact, altered; Conciliar decrees on matters of faith are *ex hypothesi* irreformable. In Parliament everything is finally decided—and necessarily decided—by the vote of the majority; in Councils, moral unanimity has ever been held essential for defining articles of faith. The Council of Basle lasted eight years, the Council of Trent eighteen, and, to cite the words of *Pomponio*, 'it is evident that months and years were necessary for the full consideration of the important matters brought before the Vatican Council, in such different circumstances, and after the lapse of centuries.' But the original scheme of the infallibilists, as announced in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, had been to have a Council of exceedingly short duration, like the Council of Chalcedon, that is, of about three weeks. 'In making the arrangements,' as *Pomponio* says, 'no doubt had been entertained as to the celerity with which they could be carried through,' and bitter was the disappointment felt, when after a session of three months nothing had been done, and 'one of the Fathers, on being asked how soon the Council would finish, answered by inquiring when it would begin?' Cardinal Manning will not indeed hear of the design of carrying the dogma by acclamation having ever been entertained. But here both *Pomponio* and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, as well as other high authorities, are against him. The former dwells significantly more than once on the want of acoustic properties in the Council Hall, which 'seemed to favour the desires of that portion of the Council accused of being inimical to dis-

cussion,' and which certainly helped their cause. And he reflects severely on the 'system of concealment' by which the Bishops were kept in ignorance of the matters to be brought before them, while the *Civiltà Cattolica* and its partisans enjoyed the full confidence of the Curia. And this, it is added, formed one of the chief complaints of the Opposition, especially of the Bishops coming from free countries like America, who were accustomed to see everything subjected to the fullest investigation.

It seems strange, certainly, after all which has passed, that any one should think it worth while to deny that the main, if not sole object of summoning the Vatican Council was to secure the promulgation of the Infallibilist dogma. And Cardinal Manning, who published the year before the Council a Pastoral containing an elaborate argument in favour of defining it, is one of the last persons from whom such a denial could have been looked for. Nevertheless, he declares himself 'able to give to this a direct denial,' as being 'simply untrue in fact.' *Pomponio*, following *Quirinus*, tells us how the *Civiltà* had previously mapped out the programme of the Council, having for its principal objects to formalize the Syllabus, the Assumption, and Papal Infallibility. This last, he adds elsewhere, was 'the important point, the dominant question; all else was of minor consequence, and turned on this.' And again, in February, the whole consideration of the Council is said to be irrevocably concentrated on this one question: 'the majority had no other object but this, and followed it with that intensity of purpose which is peculiar to religious sentiments and passions.' Still more definitely he speaks of its being 'presented to a Council convoked for the express purpose of instituting it as a dogma of the Church, on June 18, 1870.' This is one of the 'infamous falsehoods' which drew down the official censure of the presiding Legates on two pamphlets published during the Council, in a protest which Cardinal Manning has thought worth preserving in his Pastoral. The earliest of the two, *Ce qui se passe au Concile*, which appeared in France, is justly termed by our author very important, and evidently written by some person of authority.' The writer was, in fact, a M. Gaillard, and it contains an able and perfectly trustworthy account of the aims and tactics of the wire-pullers of the Council. The second pamphlet, *La Dernière Heure du Concile*, is shorter, but more brilliant and suggestive; it was well known to be either dictated or actually written by Archbishop Darboy. Both were denounced by Cardinal Manning as 'truthless,' 'mendacious,'

and 'slandrous' publications, and by the Legates as '*le calumnie putridissime*' and '*le turpissime menzogne*.' Such a description can only be justified on the principle, 'the greater the libel, the greater the truth.' Before taking leave of Cardinal Manning, it should be added that, on the day of the promulgation of the new dogma, his services in procuring it were acknowledged by a present from the Jesuit conductors of the *Civiltà Cattolica* of a picture of S. Charles Borromeo (*Pomponio* wrongly says Bellarmine) with a complimentary inscription.

Thus far we have been principally engaged in contrasting two opposite accounts of the spirit and aims of the dominant party at the Council and the general course of proceedings. But it must not be supposed that the aim of *Pomponio* is to criticize or reply to Ultramontane writers in the Council, as Pallavicini wrote to reply, in the interests of Rome, to Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*. The author seldom alludes to the statements which by implication he contradicts, or to works like Friedrich's, whose accuracy he incidentally confirms. He writes from a wholly independent standpoint, to give us his version of what took place, and his view of its true significance. In doing so he has occasion to comment with severity on the action of several of the high personages concerned, and on none more severely than Cardinal Manning. But there is no appearance of any personal irritation or animosity. To his mind far graver than any mere personal interests are at stake. He professes not to be dealing with theology as such, but at the same time to assume an attitude in reference to the Vatican Council and its results, which 'represents resistance, opposition, and investigation slowly progressive, but yet compatible with Catholic feelings and institutions.' While, however, he does not directly and *eo nomine* meddle with purely theological discussion, his estimate of the great doctrinal question at issue is not obscurely intimated. It is hardly necessary to read between the lines of the following passage to perceive that, while he recognises the infallibility of the Church, he agrees with Bishop Maret's estimate of the psychological inconceivability of the personal infallibility of any particular individual, though it be the chief Pastor of the Church:

'The infallibility of a single man is a more striking miracle, and a greater infraction of the laws of nature, than the infallibility of a large and well-organized assembly under the security of a strong and severe discipline; it is much more so, because the infallibility of a society with regard to itself is by its very nature relative, while that

of an individual towards society cannot be other than absolute. It is reasonable to believe that God protects the Church, as we believe that God protects the world, and that the Church in her office should be infallible, may be in a certain sense reasonable; but that God should take away from an individual man the liability to error, which is characteristic of humanity, would be an absolute and standing miracle. In the first case, Faith allies herself with reason, in the second she subdues it.<sup>1</sup>

And the point of this contrast is more distinctly intimated in another passage, where the author charges the infallibilist majority with failing to appreciate 'the slow but collective action of society,' and like all who submit to the influence and allurements of despotism, 'not relishing an authority which is not distilled through the arbitrary will of one individual.' All this inevitably recalls to our memory one of the most striking chapters in Bishop Maret's work, published just before the Council,<sup>2</sup> on 'Dogmatic Infallibility and Moral Sanctity,' in which he argues, with great force and felicity, that, as Papal infallibility must mean the personal infallibility of the man, and as infallibility is always in the Church and in the nature of things connected with holiness, the infallible Pope must necessarily be also impeccable. True, Monsignor Maret has, since the Council, 'effaced' his book, but he has not therefore effaced the arguments it contains, whether moral or historical.

There is an excellent though brief sketch in *Pomponio* (pp. 183-188) of the gradual growth of the infallibilist doctrine in the Church. It first took definite shape in the age of S. Thomas Aquinas, which was fertile in theological and canonical controversy, and was thenceforward never lost sight of by the Roman Curia, who lost no opportunity of pushing it. The reaction of the fifteenth century, which gained a temporary triumph at the reforming Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, received a check at the Council of Florence, and though the question had to be shelved at Trent, where the Episcopal opposition was too strong for the Curia, the natural tendency of the 'counter-reformation,' which Macaulay has characterized and Ranke has described, was to promote the interests of Curialism. That tendency 'of passive reaction against mental freedom' gave birth to the Jesuit Order, who have been from the first the great champions of Papal infallibility, which before the Reformation had borne a vague and indefinite character, but began in their hands to assume a

<sup>1</sup> *Pomponio Leto*, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Du Concile Générale et de la Paix Religieuse*, vol. ii. ch. 13.

more definite shape. There is still, however, a considerable gap between Baronius, Orsi, and their Ultramontane contemporaries and the infallibilists of our own day; but the storm of modern revolution has completed the work of progress by antagonism begun by the Reformation, till at last 'the so-called Catholic party, headed by the Jesuits,' have achieved their ultimate success.

It is not the mere fact of the doctrine being a development to which *Pomponio* objects; on the contrary, as we saw just now, he contrasts with the absolutism of the Papal *ipse dixit* the 'slow and collective action' by which the Church evolves her doctrinal system. Development of some kind is implied in the very existence of theological science, and is attested by every conciliar definition from Nice downwards, and in the language of the earliest creeds. The principle is maintained, with whatever varieties of detailed application, by Roman Catholic theologians so studiously moderate as Möhler, by the most distinguished Lutheran divines of modern days, and by learned and impartial Presbyterian divines like Dr. Rainy.<sup>1</sup> The fatal flaw of the Vatican dogma is not simply that it is a development—to raise that objection is to court an easy refutation—but that it is, to adopt Dr. Newman's nomenclature in his famous essay on the subject, a spurious and not a genuine development; moral difficulties apart, it is in the teeth of facts. Not to press the case of Pope Liberius, which is really quite decisive,<sup>2</sup> no doubt can be plausibly maintained as to the official and, to use modern phraseology, *ex cathedrâ* character of the heretical judgment of Pope Honorius, as any one may satisfy himself who will consult the learned and exhaustive (Roman Catholic) treatise of Mr. Renouf.<sup>3</sup> Many ingenious theories have been excogitated of the limits and notes of an *ex cathedrâ* decision, as that it must be conformable to Scripture and Tradition, which is obvious, but practically irrelevant; or that it must be preceded by mature deliberation or earnest prayer, of which conditions again the infallible Pope must necessarily be him-

<sup>1</sup> See his Lectures on *Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine*. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.)

<sup>2</sup> Cardinal de la Luzerne, quoted by Renouf, justly remarks on the fall of Liberius: 'Dès qu'on demandait cette signature au Pape *comme Pape*, c'est le Pape *comme Pape* qui l'a donnée;' and again: 'Déclarer qu'il est la vraie foi qui doit être reçue, et par le chef de l'Eglise et par le Siège Apostolique, est évidemment un enseignement, et c'est donner cet enseignement à l'Eglise que de l'adresser à tous les Evêques Orientaux, sachant qu'il sera publié et le voulant.'

<sup>3</sup> *The Case of Pope Honorius Reconsidered*. Longmans.



self the sole judge; or that certain formalities must be observed, or that anathemas must be attached to it, which are purely arbitrary limitations. But these and the like casuistical distinctions, however conveniently elastic for purposes of apologetic controversy, break down the moment it is attempted to apply them in derogation of any given Papal pronouncement; for, as Bellarmine points out with good reason, unless we are always ready to assume in such cases that the Pope has fulfilled the requisite conditions, whatever they be, his infallibility becomes uncertain and therefore practically useless.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Newman has indeed (in a work published since the Vatican Council) laid down so rigidly exacting a definition of infallible judgments that it would certainly exclude, and seems to be intended to exclude, from the category every Papal decision hitherto pronounced, with the somewhat doubtful exception of the Immaculate Conception. He requires in every case three conditions for an *ex cathedra* decision of the Pope, (1) 'his formal initiation of it, (2) his authorship of its wording, and (3) his utterance in his court, *with solemnities parallel to those of an Ecumenical Council*.'<sup>2</sup> Putting aside decrees issued in Councils claiming to be Ecumenical, there is clearly no Papal definition but one which satisfies the third condition, and it may perhaps be questioned whether the second condition was satisfied even there. But the grand plea of modern advocates of the dogma, which was urged with much ability by the late Father Dalgairns, is precisely that some available instrument is wanted, ready for constant use, to smite down as they emerge the successive heresies of German professors and other troublers of the peace of Israel, whereas General Councils can only assemble at long intervals. The argument is plausible, but it proves too much. For such a purpose Dr. Newman's jealously restricted infallibility would be absolutely worthless. But, far short of that, any of the finely-drawn reservations invented to blunt the edge of hostile criticism must serve in exactly the same degree to blunt the edge of the weapon they are designed to guard intact. Thus, for example, all cordial adherents of the Vatican dogma insist, very reasonably, on bringing the Syllabus within its range, while those who have succumbed after opposition, and the more moderate even of the victorious party, as strenuously refuse to accept it as an *ex cathedra* utterance. The *Dublin*

<sup>1</sup> See Maret's *Du Concile Générale*, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70.

<sup>2</sup> See note at p. 340 of vol. iii. of *Historical Sketches*. Pickering, 1873.

*Review* still keeps up a running fire of attacks on Dr. Newman for his unceremonious treatment of the Syllabus in his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*. About the infallibility of the *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII., which anticipates the most startling propositions of the Syllabus, there can be no question on any recognised or natural theory of *ex cathedrâ* judgments. Nor is it at all easy to see how so solemn an act as the canonization of a saint, which involves an authoritative decision on important points both of faith and morals, and is expressly intended to take effect on the public worship and private devotion of the Universal Church, can be other than infallible. And thus, *e.g.*, the recent canonization of S. Peter Arbues, a Spanish inquisitor whose merciless severities extorted his crown of martyrdom from the maddened relatives of some of his unfortunate victims, establishes, or rather confirms, on a dogmatic basis—for it had been established before—the principle of persecution in its extremest form.

Another practical argument has been urged, as for instance by the late Father Faber, for investing the Pope with these superhuman prerogatives. It is argued that, since the withdrawal of the visible presence of our Lord, some earthly centre is needed for the 'personal devotion' and loyalty of the faithful, and Catholics accordingly find a legitimate expression for this sentiment in 'devotion' to the Pope (the title of a remarkable sermon of Faber's) as His representative. And thus we read in *Pomponio* of a speech—it was really a sermon—of Bishop Mermillod's of Geneva (whom the translator has oddly enough metamorphosed into 'Monsignor di Ginevra, Bishop of Ebrun'), 'asserting so strong a likeness between the Grotto of Bethlehem, the Shrine and the Vatican, and so close a resemblance between the Infant adored in the one and the old man venerated in the other, that the audience, though well disposed to judge him favourably, considered his language quite extravagant.' Montalembert, with all his ardent zeal not only for the spiritual but the temporal claims of the Roman See, did not hesitate to speak, almost with dying breath, of 'the idol at the Vatican,' and criticisms fully as severe will be found in his posthumous essay, *L'Espagne et la Liberté*, which has just been published.<sup>1</sup> But this notion of erecting the Pope into a kind of Grand Lama is simply a form of fetishism not more abhorrent to the true spirit of Christianity than superfluous as a vehicle for that sentiment of loyalty of which the Church herself, not any one of her individual officers, though he be the highest of all, is the rightful object. No doubt the

<sup>1</sup> In the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse*, January to May 1876.

Church may be represented in the occupant of what has always been regarded as the primatial See, as she is also represented, for instance, in her priesthood, her episcopate, her patriarchs, her Councils, her Martyrs, and her Saints; but it is only as her representatives, and so far as they represent her, that any of them can claim a share in that loyal affection which corresponds in the spiritual to patriotism in the natural order. How could Popes like Alexander VI. or Leo X.—and there have been but too many such—command this personal devotion? Nor is it at all true to say that, because the Church is not, like the Pope, visible and palpable to the outward senses, and can only be realized in idea and as an abstraction, she cannot therefore elicit enthusiasm or stir the affections. What would be thought of an Englishman who felt no loyal enthusiasm for his country? Yet to a Catholic Christian the Church is surely at least as much a reality as the nation, and what a great preacher has said of the one may be applied to the other. 'The nation is nowhere—an abstraction. It exists only in idea; but ideas are the strongest things in man; they bind him with irresistible force, and penetrate his affections with supreme subtlety.'<sup>1</sup>

From a social and political, if not from a theological point of view, the third Vatican Canon *De Ecclesiâ* may be considered more important than the fourth on infallibility. It asserts for the Pope 'plenam et supremam potestatem jurisdictionis in universam Ecclesiam,' and further declares that power to be '*ordinariam et immediatam*, sive in omnes et singulas Ecclesias, sive in omnes et singulos pastores et fideles.' Well may *Pomponio* observe on this that theologians may determine 'what power can remain to diocesan bishops in

<sup>1</sup> Mozley's *University Sermons*, p. 122. We are tempted to quote in this connection some lines from a noble passage in Mr. Aubrey de Vere's new poem, *St. Thomas of Canterbury*. He is comparing the patriotism of ancient Greece with the Christian sentiment of loyalty to the Church; and it will be observed that the very terms of comparison exclude the identification or confusion of that sentiment with loyalty to the Pope, for there were no kings in Greece. After describing the reverence of Athenians for their city, the majesty of law dimly discerned 'above base mart and popular shout,' and more dimly still, 'the God Unknown,' the speaker proceeds:—

'Our God is not unknown;  
In omnipresent majesty among us  
His Church sits high above her rock tower-crowned,  
Fortress of Law Divine, and Truth Revealed,  
O'er every city throned, o'er every realm!  
Had we the man-heart of the men of old,  
With what a spirit of might invincible  
For her should we not die!'

their own churches after such a declaration; but it baffles the comprehension of secular persons.<sup>1</sup> It would baffle the comprehension, we suspect, of many theologians too, and more particularly of the disinherited bishops themselves, who can exercise no authority except as official delegates of the Pope. We have seen an example of late nearer home of a somewhat similar, though informal, design to subject all episcopal discretion to the uniform control of a single will, and the result is not encouraging. For the ultramontane spirit is confined to no one party, still less to one communion. But it finds, of course, its fullest and most formal expression in that Church whose government has for centuries past been undergoing a process of steady contralibration, till at length, in our author's words, its constitution renders resistance impossible, and it is become 'like a machine worked by a single motive force, which casts away all that it does not absorb within itself.' Some of the most interesting chapters in the book are occupied with discussing the actual and probable effects of this system of policy on modern society. 'The Catholic party,' which is the phrase habitually used in *Pomponio* for the dominant and acting section of the Roman Catholic Church, personifies, as he tells us, the principle of absolute authority, and, having mostly drawn its recruits from a world that is past, finds itself in collision with the world now existing the moment it prepares for the combat. That the situation is a serious one, both from a religious and social point of view, the author quite admits:

'Indeed, all who belong to Christian or merely civilised nations, will readily agree in the desire for peace, and in the hope that some settlement of these social and political questions may be found other than the alternative of absolutism and rebellion, which seems at our day to be the lot of most Catholic countries. The strength of the Latin nations is exhausted by their constant oscillations between the theories of the *Univèrs* and those of the *Rappel*, between the dogmas of the *Unità Cattolica* and those expressions of opinion, or rather unbridled instincts, for which nothing is sacred; oscillations which sway backwards and forwards between revolutionary barricades on the one hand and *coups-d'état* on the other.'<sup>2</sup>

It is the relative inferiority, civil, moral and political, of Catholic countries, by which the author is so painfully im-

<sup>1</sup> In the same way the relation of the Pope to the Episcopate in the matter of infallibility was expressed, we are told, in a North Italian publication called *The Œcumenical Council*, 'by the algebraic formula,  $a = a + b$ , a formula which can only be verified when  $b$ , which in this case represented the Episcopate, is zero'—(p. 118).

<sup>2</sup> *Pomponio Leto*, p. 36.

pressed, and to this startling fact he thinks that the Church, as a visible society, existing on earth, cannot afford to be indifferent. Even in a country like France, which especially prides herself on her Catholicism, he sorrowfully confesses that the culture, science and industry which have made her what she is seem generally to have been due to those whom Rome would not have recognised as her children. And he asks what part the influence of Catholicism can claim in her civil and intellectual glory. If again we turn from the Old to the New World, it may be asked what Catholicism has done for North America, and what satisfaction the Church can derive from the spectacle presented by Mexico. Another noticeable fact, which at first sight appears the reverse of what might be expected, is that the spirit of revolution is more rife and acts more violently in Catholic than in Protestant countries. 'Which of the Catholic nations can live, like England and America, in the exercise of the greatest activity and in a state of constant agitation, without a large standing army,' and meanwhile 'in how many Catholic countries has not the Government more than once collapsed during recent years?' England, it is observed, has no *Univers* or *Rappel*, or at least her existence is not daily threatened by such publications; neither has she inquisitors nor revolutionary fanatics. There is no doubt some exaggeration about this contrast, for the obvious reason that the author knows Protestant countries, as he says that Cardinal Manning knows Catholicism, *ab extra* and not *ab intra*, and probably distance and dissatisfaction with his surroundings combine to lend a certain enchantment to the view. Thus, for instance, it is true that our existence is not daily threatened by such papers as the *Univers* and *Rappel*, but it is also true that we are flooded with the moral abominations of our 'Penny Awfuls' *et id genus omne*, which must tend, if unchecked, in the long run to sap the foundations of civil order also. Nor is England by any means free, as recent experience has too abundantly proved, from those abnormal outbreaks of immorality which are sometimes complacently assumed to be the exclusive bane of foreign and especially southern lands. But on these points we cannot linger here.

It is more to our present purpose to examine the author's account of the causes of the evils he so justly deplors in Catholic countries. He begins by insisting that it 'would be not only unjust but useless to fasten the responsibility on Catholicism itself,' but he does charge it mainly on the laws, customs, institutions, habits, and abuses which have long and increasingly prevailed in Catholic education. The principle of

authority, most true and essential in itself, has been so grossly exaggerated as to produce a mere blind submission, which paralyses the collective action of the hierarchy by concentrating it in the Pope, while throughout the general body of the faithful it enfeebles or suppresses the working of the individual conscience by absorbing all sense of personal responsibility in the duty of absolute submission. And thus 'it often happens that a Catholic, unless gifted with an unusual superiority of mind, has no knowledge of good and evil beyond what he derives from the external authority which may be represented by any chance individual'—his confessor or the next priest he meets. One result of this is seen in the inevitable recoil from a despotic pressure which too often in the present day throws the pupils of the Jesuits into the wildest revolutionary excesses the moment the outward restraint is withdrawn. What the author says on this point, we may add, is fully borne out by the testimony of others who have had the best opportunities of observation. Hence again arise the disingenuousness and mental compromises which have given an evil name to what is really, as Dr. Newman calls it, the 'noble'—and also necessary—science of casuistry. Another consequence is found in the rigid intolerance of intellectual error, combined with an undue leniency to errors of the will. And the one-sided and spurious asceticism springing from the same source is apt to breed in one class idleness and mendicancy and in all classes a tendency to superstition. And this again is sure sooner or later to lead to a reaction. Youths trained under the narrow and repressive discipline of a Catholic seminary, which allows little scope to individuality of mind or character, are tempted in the retrospect of maturer age 'to confound God and the priest,' and turn their backs on religion altogether, either by sinking into the moral suicide of mere selfish sensuality, or breaking out into passionate rebellion. And thus in Catholic countries we rarely meet with that happy alliance of a conservative spirit with desire for progress which is found in all well-governed and prosperous nations; the one party is immovable instead of conservative, the other revolutionary instead of progressive. In communities subjected to this 'ultra-Catholic' régime, we find many churches, but few schools; more devotion than virtue; more passion than judgment; general intolerance and scanty prosperity, with fluctuations of submission and rebellion; a 'craving for authority without any appreciation of its true nature,' whence it is 'alternately adored with servility and subjected to outrage.'



The substantial truth of these remarks is only too well illustrated, as the author hints, in the conduct of the minority at the Vatican Council. It was with a feeling of painful surprise that their countrymen, Catholic and Protestant, watched the sudden and discreditable collapse of the German Bishops as soon as the contest at Rome was over. That they could not really believe in a doctrine which only a few months before they had declared and proved to be demonstrably false is obvious on the face of it; but to charge them with deliberate hypocrisy would be a judgment alike harsh and superficial. They had been trained under a system which paralyses the free action of conscience by subjecting all moral considerations to the supreme duty of absolute and unconditional submission to authority. Hefe, one of the most learned of them, temporised for a while, but when the crisis came he dared not uphold his convictions at the cost of an open rupture with Rome. Haneberg, who, as Abbot of St. Boniface at Munich, had not been more highly respected for his vast erudition than honoured and beloved for the nobility of his nature, and the breadth and warmth of his sympathies, was sorely tried, and his friends believe now that the strain of the internal conflict has hurried him to his premature grave. When summoned to Rome on one of the preliminary Commissions, he came back thoroughly disheartened, and said that a Cardinal standing very near his Holiness (probably Antonelli) had observed, 'This man began his pontificate by ruining the temporal power, and will end it by ruining the Church.' When the dogma was promulgated, he again carefully examined the works of S. Athanasius, with which he was already familiar, and declared that he could find nothing in them to support this new claim of the Papacy. During forty years of the Arian controversy it had been settled by no dogmatic decision emanating from Rome; only Liberius had terribly compromised both himself and the credit of his See.<sup>1</sup> Still Haneberg felt bound to yield an outward obedience to a decree which certainly did not approve itself to his intellect. But when in 1872 he was raised, much against his will, to the episcopate, he never stooped, like some of his colleagues, to the baseness of persecuting those who remained true to the convictions he had formerly himself professed. To a priest of his diocese who consulted him, feeling unable in conscience to accept the Vatican dogmas, he replied that, if the refusal was not dictated by pride, and there was no unwillingness on

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Janus*, pp. 67-69.

his part to submit to what he believed to be really the teaching of the Church, that was enough. Others who had spoken more loudly than Haneberg against the new dogma have been less generous since their recantation. For it is a marvellous error of Cardinal Manning's to say, in the Pastoral we have so often quoted, that the Opposition Bishops objected to the dogma solely as 'inopportune,' and regarded the question as one of 'prudence, policy, expedience, *not of doctrine or truth.*' If he had read the various documents they issued, singly and collectively, before and during the Council, some of which are printed in the Appendix of *Pomponio*, and others in Friedrich's *Documenta*, he might easily have convinced himself of the contrary. No doubt there were *some* of the Bishops and many priests and laymen who, in the words of *Pomponio*, deemed the time unsuitable, though not averse to the doctrine itself; but others were 'opposed to the substance of the dogma,' and moreover, as the author adds, this discrepancy was in many cases more apparent than real, the first line of argument being often put forward as only a milder and more practicable method of giving effect to the second. Bishop Maret was far more cautious in his manner of speaking than many of his colleagues, but we have seen how distinctly he challenges, not the opportuneness, but the truth of the Infallibilist definition.<sup>1</sup> And of this Cardinal Manning was perfectly aware, for he attacked Maret's book in a Post-script to his Pastoral of 1869, to which we have already had occasion to refer, where he points out quite correctly that the author 'denies the infallibility of the Pontiff altogether,' and that 'his theory can be reconciled with no Ultramontane opinion.'<sup>2</sup>

The feeling of the better of the Opposition Bishops—always excepting Strossmayer, who has never yielded—may be summed up in the reply of Abbot Haneberg, when appealed to by one of the most eminent of them, after the decree had been proclaimed, for his definitive judgment. It is given in the very interesting obituary contributed by his friend, Dr. Sepp, to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*:—'I will tell you plainly what I think. The longer I compared the proofs for and against Papal infallibility, the clearer it became to me that the ancient Church, the Church of the first eight centuries, knew nothing of this doctrine. And with this conclusion I

<sup>1</sup> So also did Mgr. Dupanloup, in fact if not in form, in a Pastoral issued shortly before the Council.

<sup>2</sup> *The Œcumenical Council and the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.* Longmans, 1869, pp. 140, 145.

compared the saying of S. Boniface, whose name our house and church bears : "Papa à nemine est judicandus, nisi à fide devius." This agrees with the twenty-first canon of the eighth Ecumenical Council in 869, and the fourth and fifth Session of the Council of Constance, approved by at least three Popes. In view of these, and perhaps still stronger reasons, most of the German and Austrian Bishops have opposed the dogma. Is it possible that what was false up to July 18 is to be held true after that date? Theoretically only two courses are open to us who desire to live and die Catholics—the one leads to questioning and contesting the validity of the Council, the other to submission. *Who will deny that the validity of the last Vatican decree can be contested?* But every step against the validity of the Council will be interpreted by the unchurch Liberalism of the day into complete agreement with itself. On the other hand, every attempt made, however emphatically on the basis of the ancient Catholic belief, will be stigmatized as rebellion, schism, and heresy by the dominant party within the Church, which is just now flushed with triumph. He goes on to say that threats of deposition, &c., have no weight with him; 'but a third consideration is the most decisive of all—we have to take account of our Catholic people.' It is this fear of causing scandal to the unlearned, of shaking the faith of the weak, and seeming to play into the hands of unbelievers, which has tied the hands and the tongues of so many Bishops who outwardly succumbed to a tyranny of falsehood against which their conscience and intellect revolted. It was a grave error, both of principle and policy, but it hardly becomes those who have never known the trial to judge them too severely.

Our readers will have perceived that the subject-matter and purport of this interesting volume may be regarded under two distinct but closely related aspects, corresponding to a division of the contents. The greater part of it is devoted to tracing in detail, on the most direct authority, the actual course of the Vatican Council, which, if its dogmas were to be finally accepted, might be expected to prove 'the last deliberative assembly of the Roman Catholic Church,' for it marks the definitive change of her organization from a constitutional to an absolute monarchy. The author points out in detail the systematic methods of moral violence of every sort, combined with unscrupulous favouritism and partisanship, by which the success of the Papal programme was achieved. 'Whoever said or did anything in favour of infallibility received acknowledgments, remunerations, and honours, the Pope him-

self condescending to act openly in this way.' Nor was it possible for 'the Catholic *party*'—the italics are the author's—to be altogether blind to one inevitable consequence of their policy. They did not pretend to deny, but they treated 'in a tone of indifference, almost of disdain,' the separations and schisms likely to follow. They did not overlook, but loudly trumpeted and denounced the spirit of resistance they were doing their utmost to provoke, for they 'prefer to see the number of the faithful constantly diminished, rather than to recognise as such any who are not completely and blindly submissive.' The author's estimate of their *animus* and deliberate policy, and of the natural sequel of so perverse an abuse of the Catholic principle, is summed up in one of the ablest and most mournful passages in the volume. Its deep and pregnant interest will more than justify the length of the extract:—

'Thus organized, the Roman Catholic religion is certainly easily guided by its superiors, and is well qualified for intervening in social or political strife, with its immense influence, while it also lends itself more surely to become an instrument of party. On the other hand, how does such a constitution promote that universality which is the characteristic of Christianity and is implied in the very name of Catholic? It is almost superfluous again to remind our readers that we have no desire to pass judgment on theological questions on which we are not competent to decide, but simply wish to place before them the social and civil aspects of the question, and the practical results to society of the influence of the Vatican Council. Weighing these considerations by past experience, it seems probable that all that is intelligent, reasonable, and liberal in Catholicism, finding itself bound down within such narrow limits by external authority, will press forward with energy until it reaches a position of greater ease and freedom—a position in which the irresistible impulse of modern life may be able to attain its full development; and it will be a great thing if in this struggle those who wish to preserve their religion, and yet are unable to follow the novelties of the Vatican, will content themselves with the old news, the good news *par excellence*, and still find guidance and comfort in the Gospel. The most devout and well-disciplined portion of Catholicism will no doubt strive, under the direction of the Pope, to set itself against the spirit of the age—but where will its course end? That is a question which none can answer, and which will probably depend in great measure on the individual dispositions of the Popes who seek to make the experiment. Of course, it is possible that some Pope of large and liberal ideas may arise, but what could he do? Might not his best endeavours in a position of such unlimited power be attended by the same dangers as follow on a policy of reaction? Can a principle, illiberal by nature, ever produce real fruits of liberty? The very name of 'Catholic *party*,' which the devout Catholics of all countries have

spontaneously assumed, seems to be a forecast of the future, and to indicate the opinion of those who have given up the universality of their kingdom, while it points out the probable condition of the Church of Rome in its laborious struggle with modern society. The world which previous to the Vatican Council was indiscriminately termed Catholic, will now inevitably split into two divisions; but between them there will remain a considerable number of persons, who, unable to follow the liberal ideas of the first party, and impatient of the yoke of the second, will be lost in the burning sands formed by the *detritus* of wasted religious beliefs and moral principles, which constitutes the interminable desert, stretching away into the distance along the borders of modern civilisation.<sup>1</sup>

*Dû meliora piis!* But unquestionably the present aspect of matters ecclesiastical both within and without the Roman fold is gloomy enough. Our author explains that those who predicted that, if the infallibilist dogma was carried, the Vatican Council would not be received, were not thinking so much of any formal repudiation of its validity as of the effect that would be produced throughout the Catholic world, which had looked to the Council for a solution of the religious difficulties of the age, but would thenceforth regard it with indifference, and lose all hope of receiving any help from such a quarter. And this appears to have been Archbishop Darboy's meaning in the remarkable pamphlet already mentioned — *La Dernière Heure du Concile*; but he certainly did not despair of the ultimate result. His closing words of unshaken confidence, where he reminds us that the Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ were the harbingers and pioneers of the decisive victory of Salamis, may still be read with interest, though the primary application to the minority Bishops has lost its force.<sup>2</sup> The immediate prospect, however, as our author sadly confesses, is a very discouraging one. 'A feeling of weariness, even among the most devoted Catholics,' has been created, while no impartial observer can fail to detect, both in the formal submission of the Bishops and the active opposition of the Old Catholics, a sort of 'forlorn resignation,' almost assuming

<sup>1</sup> *Pomponio*, pp. 220, 221.

<sup>2</sup> 'Quelques âmes effrayées auront cru tout fini. Non. Le silence de la minorité est devenu, pour les plus clairvoyants, une affirmation de sa dignité et de sa force, et lorsque quelques-uns ont semblé lui dire, "Rendez les armes," elle a répondu, comme Léonidas, "Venez les prendre" . . . Nous verrons alors si la masse aura le courage d'écraser l'intelligence, la liberté et la valeur. Si la multitude passe quand même, nous lui prédisons qu'elle n'ira pas loin. Les Spartiates qui étaient tombés aux Thermopylæ, pour défendre les terres de la liberté, avaient préparés au flot impitoyable du despotisme la défaite de Salamine.' — *La Dernière Heure*, p. 7.

the character of a passive resistance. The rigorous discipline of modern Ultramontanism has reduced the priesthood to 'mechanical rather than intelligent members of the Church,' but the laity, who are less amenable to restraint, are apt to break the barriers, and often temporarily cease to belong to their own Church, though without being supported by any deep convictions or deliberate approval of their conscience. The immediate reference is no doubt to Italy, but the description will apply generally to the present state of the educated Roman Catholic laity everywhere—not excepting England—although, for the most part, few signs of disaffection come to the surface. The 'Catholic party,' with the Pope at its head, is strong enough to prevent that. It not only controls the action of the hierarchy, but exercises an unquestioned supremacy over the rank and file of nominal believers, 'who will not obey but cannot resist it.' And hence it comes to pass that while, unhappily, 'Catholics at the present day very often neither have nor profess (in private) any religion whatever,' they rigidly hold aloof from all other religionists, and especially from those whose creed is most akin to their own, and show more disposition to fraternize with rationalists than with the more orthodox bodies of Christians. This 'curious phenomenon,' again, is not confined to Italy. It follows, of course, from what has been said, that the circle of what are called 'practising Catholics'—that is, those who regularly frequent the sacraments—becomes increasingly narrowed, so that 'at the present day they are simply a party in the Church,' while there remains a second and larger circle of 'honorary members for life,' who are content with observing a few external forms, do not care enough about the matter to make any open protest or separation, and most likely mean to send for a priest on their death-beds. They subside, in short, into a state of religious indifference.

We cannot follow the author through the political reflections of his concluding chapter, for which our readers must be referred to the volume itself. But we may just observe in passing, how grievously the virtual identification of Catholicism, and therefore of Christianity, with the cause of despotism on the Continent, has tended to the prejudice of religion altogether, natural or revealed, in the popular mind.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus, for instance, at a Radical dinner in Paris the other day, the chairman, Citizen Lafont, is reported to have said, 'In the Catholic religion, *to which we owe all our misfortunes*, it is customary to put every act of life under the patronage of Divinity. Let us Republicans and freethinkers, before commencing these fraternal love-feasts, invoke the name of the Republic, *which is our religion*, and of liberty, *which commands*



Meanwhile, there is one important aspect of the Vatican Council noticed in *Pomponio*, which has not, so far as we are aware, been generally dwelt upon either by its admirers or its opponents. 'Its sanction of the past is of equal value with the new laws and regulations it has introduced.' No Council had met for more than 300 years, and all the customs and institutions which had grown up in the Church during that eventful period remained as yet without any binding sanction, and were open to review under the light a long experience had thrown upon them. But the Council, so far from manifesting any appreciation of the peculiar advantages of this situation, lost no time in setting its seal on the dogmatism and absolutism already in possession, and thus stereotyped, so far as in it lay, the future position of the Church in regard to modern society, and the Catholic nations in particular. There is, of course, a political as well as a religious side to this question. Cavour's 'free Church in a free State,' however convenient and plausible as a political formula, is, nevertheless, as our author insists, 'socially an impracticability,' especially in nations like Italy, where one form of religion prevails all but universally. A religious body sufficiently influential to become a power in the country, and still more to become the dominant power, is sure, sooner or later, to attract the attention of statesmen, and when the Government begins to interfere, the Church is compelled in self-defence to enter into some sort of relations with the State. Hence, Establishments, Concordats, Organic Articles, and all the various expedients devised at different times and places to regulate the conflicting claims of the rival authorities. If there is any country where Cavour's theory—if such it can be called—might be expected to work smoothly, it is North America. But the United States are disturbed at this moment by a religious controversy about education, which bids fair at last to compel a revision of the letter of the constitution. Into these matters, however, we cannot enter here.

Meanwhile, two considerations may serve to modify, if not to counteract, the somewhat despairing view of the future of Christianity which marks the closing pages of *Pomponio*. The first point is noticed by the author himself. He speaks of the futility of the schemes of rationalistic reformers, who, having no religion of their own, endeavour to construct one *de novo*,

*our worship.*' Another speaker, M. Clemenceau, observed, in an outbreak of almost unintelligible fanaticism, 'Formerly the Christians were given up to the lions; now-a-days the Republicans are given up to the Christians, which is worse!'—See *Times* for June 28, 1876.

and of those statesmen who, not feeling the need of any religion for themselves, think it necessary to try 'to create a religious feeling out of scepticism,' for the benefit, or rather the better management, of the people generally. Both classes equally confess the want, which neither is able to meet. For religion cannot be made to order, like a new constitution or a new dress, and neither philosophical theorists, nor politicians who share Gibbon's estimate of its intellectual worthlessness and practical value, can secure its services on any terms but its own. Italian statesmen, if we are not misinformed, are already beginning to understand this. There is a double reaction going on, even in the great metropolis of Christendom, against that religious indifference which is the natural outgrowth of a period of sharp transition, both ecclesiastical and political, and against the religious absolutism which appeared in the Vatican definitions to have reached its final consummation. The volume before us supplies one evidence, and others are not wanting, that even the College of Cardinals, though almost entirely the creation of the present Pope, is not altogether of the same mind with him. Still less could that be said of the episcopate in communion with Rome, in spite of its outward acquiescence. No one who believes in an overruling Providence at all can doubt that the unprecedented extension of the pontificate of Pius IX. has some special purpose in the counsels of Eternal Wisdom. The Ultramontanes are not wrong in believing that, however widely they may err in their interpretation of the fact. One thing at least is clear, the longer the delay, the better hope is there, humanly speaking, of some satisfactory outcome of the next Conclave. Those who are familiar with Mr. Cartwright's instructive little work on Papal Conclaves,<sup>1</sup> will remember how completely all previous anticipations were baffled by the election of the present Pontiff, and perhaps a still greater surprise may be in store for us the next time. Be that as it may, and by whatever means unknown to us the reaction already in progress is to be worked out, we cannot believe in the permanent triumph either of irreligion or of Ultramontane tyranny. Religion is a necessity for man, and there is always a recuperative power in divine truth.

The second consideration which occurs to us—and it is one of supreme importance—is also suggested by some passages in this volume, but the author does not expressly introduce it. He dwells more than once on the peculiar characteristics of the Latin races, 'which form,' as he ob-

<sup>1</sup> *On Papal Conclaves.* By W. C. Cartwright. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.)

serves, 'a large proportion of the Catholic nations'—in fact, far the largest proportion—and which have a tendency to oscillate between a state of theocracy and superstition on the one hand, and of anarchy and impiety on the other. He complains that 'they seem to forget that their strength can only consist in so ruling their faculties and sentiments as to render them practically useful.' He even urges in one place that the aim of the Church should be 'to connect the religion of the great majority of the Latin race with the increase of their civilisation and the spread of their greatness,' as though there were no other races to be taken into account. The real fact is that the Catholic Church, as our author understands the term, became predominantly Latin after the separation of East and West, and almost exclusively Latin after the Reformation. And therein lies one main secret of the weaknesses and corruptions he deplores. Such a state of things is obviously and violently inconsistent, to use his own phrase, with 'that universality which is the characteristic of Christianity, and is implied in the very name of Catholic.' Nor do we ourselves believe that the cry for 'a reform of the Church in her head and in her members,' which has been going up from the noblest spirits in the great Latin Communion ever since the beginning of the fifteenth century, and never with more passionate and almost agonised intensity of supplication and remonstrance than in our own day, will obtain a satisfactory response till the wall of religious separation between the Latin and Teutonic nations of Europe is broken down. It would be difficult to exaggerate the evils entailed upon Christendom by the loss, both natural and supernatural, of the original blessing of unity. This was the first and most fundamental law impressed by her Divine Founder on the constitution of His earthly Church; the first because it is not only an outward law but an inward principle, running up into that original precept of charity on which, as He has told us, hang the Law and the Prophets. The breach of charity in the schism of East and West was only equalled, when it was also perhaps exceeded, in the schism of the sixteenth century. And on both sides terrible has been the penalty. We cannot linger here over the sad details of a too familiar tale, but of one thing we may be very certain, that, until we agree 'to cut off our entail of curses,' the multiplied evils it has brought upon us—intellectual, moral, social, in Christian lands and in missions to the heathen—will not be removed. And, to take the point which is most

directly suggested by the comments of *Pomponio*, it must be remembered that the pernicious effects of disunion are manifested, as was intimated just now, in the natural as well as in the supernatural order. Every race has its special capabilities and its special infirmities, its gifts and its vices, and it is the office of the different members mutually to correct, support, and supplement one another in the great family of the universal Church. Thus the subtlety of the Oriental and the practical temper of the Latin mind have contributed their several elements to the formation of Christian theology. Thus again, to come to our own day, different ideas are represented by the Latin and the Teutonic races, and each has its characteristic faults as well as its characteristic excellences. Protestantism exhibits an exaggeration of the one, Vaticanism an exaggeration of the other. Each class of ideas would find its level, and the opposite vices would be mutually counter-balanced and held in check, if the two races were once more brought into harmonious co-operation in a common faith and a common fold. As a matter of fact, Ultramontaniam before the Reformation was nothing like what it has since become. But we have little hope of any adequate reform of the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand, or of the grave defects and weaknesses of Protestant Christianity, in the widest sense of the term, on the other—not to speak here of the Eastern Churches, which stand in no less urgent need of reform—while the present separation continues. Whether any immediate result will follow from Dr. Döllinger's generous efforts in the cause of Christian union it would be premature as yet to say. It may well be that some sharper discipline is required and is designed for us than any we have yet experienced, before brethren so long estranged will consent to be reconciled. It is something at least to have mooted the question as having more than a mere speculative interest, to have given public expression to the practical hope of restored unity. It can never be unreasonable to labour, or other than a duty to pray, for the fulfilment of the Redeemer's dying intercession. But all probabilities seem to point to some great crisis through which the Church and Christian society must pass before that blessed consummation is attained. And in this view even the Vatican Council may be regarded as a hopeful sign, the more hopeful because of its hopelessness. It looks like the beginning of the end.

## ART. IX.—LORD SANDON'S EDUCATION BILL.

1. *Report of the Committee of Council on Education (England and Wales)*, 1875-6. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.)
2. *Sixty-fifth Report of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church.* 1876.
3. *Note on the Relief to be expected from Lord Sandon's Bill to Voluntary Schools for the Poorest Children.* By JOSEPH NUNN, M.A., Rector of St. Thomas', Ardwick; Member of the Manchester School Board. (Manchester: Guardian Letterpress Works.)
4. *The School Guardian.* Being the Weekly Paper of the National Society.

IT would be amusing, and perhaps instructive, to know the ante-natal history of Lord Sandon's Bill. There is a look about it as if the egg had been better than the chick, and as if some uncanny influences had accompanied incubation and checked its due development. It has all the appearance of having once been intended 'to be and to do,'—to be something, and to do something,—as indeed is only natural when you consider the character and antecedents of its responsible parent. But all this must have been before it left the shell. As it now stands you must characterize it chiefly by negatives. You cannot call a thing positively bad which enacts so very little. Still less can you call it positively good, for the selfsame reason. Yet even in downright madness you often trace a rational method. And so, for all its negativeness, there is a touch of the reverse about the Government Bill in the positive skill and pertinacity with which again and again it performs the operation of 'passing by on the other side.' We do not wish to complain unreasonably. We know that there are many lions in the path. But, after all, these lions are often creatures of the imagination; oftener still their roaring is in inverse proportion to their power of tooth and claw; and we cannot help regretting that the Bill has issued from the Cabinet in a form which indicates that fear

and good intentions have striven for the mastery and that apprehensiveness, not decision, has won the day.

The Parliamentary history of the Bill, thus far, is curiously consistent with its peculiar character. Almost every speaker on the second reading had his fault to find with it. How could it be otherwise when each such speaker had a definite belief as to what was wanted? When it came to a division, scarcely any one *voted* against it. How should you when it gave you so little to oppose? And then Ministers actually went away and took all this as a compliment to their capacity! Yes, but they forgot, good men, that when you build an empty nest you excite, not the impulse of destruction, but the instinct of appropriation, and that Members of Parliament are apt disciples of the cuckoo. Ministers have a majority in the House of Commons large enough to have carried a Bill with something in it; as it is, a pleasant receptivity is the main characteristic of their Bill. The overwhelming majority they had on the second reading was a tribute, not to what their Bill is, but to what it is not. Everybody saw, or thought he saw, a chance of giving it a twist in his own particular direction, and the consequence is that, whatever else it may not produce, it has had wonderful fecundity in amendments.

So much for the general character of the Bill. The question is, What are we as Churchmen to say to it? A measure may be a very negative kind of thing and yet not therefore deserving of condemnation. We have all heard of masterly inactivity; and if nothing much is wanted, why then a Bill which will not do much may be the very thing required. Can we take this line towards Lord Sandon's Bill? As honest men we fear we cannot do so. A very definite thing *was* wanted;—*is* wanted still as matter of justice to the Church, or rather to the supporters of voluntary schools in general; wanted also as a matter of reasonable consideration to ratepayers, and of economy to the State. This definite thing is not taken in hand. The Bill sees it, walks up to it, looks at it, and—passes by on the other side. In an article of some length in our January Number we went, with much precision, into the general question. We therein showed, and no attempt has been made to answer us,—

1. That the Act of 1870 is operating in a manner altogether foreign to the intentions of its original promoters,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Gladstone's and Mr. Forster's speeches as quoted in our January number.



that the Board schools are being worked so as to supplant, not supplement, the voluntary schools.

2. That this is not only contrary to the solemn declarations made prior to the passing of that Act, but also grossly unjust to the supporters of existing schools, considering (*a*) the enormous voluntary outlay by which those schools were founded and are maintained, and (*β*) their proved efficiency as attested by the impartial testimony of Government officials.

3. That this is not only unjust towards the voluntary schools, but also very oppressive to the public, since every fresh Board school means a fresh burden on the rates, and comes with a specially bad grace from a Government which makes the relief of local burdens one of its *chevaux-de-bataille*.

In any Government measure on education, then, we, whether as Churchmen or as citizens, have a right to look for this one definite thing—viz. fair dealing towards the voluntary schools, according to the intentions of the original Act. *As far as this Bill yet goes we do not get it.* A Conservative Government, a Government whose Parliamentary supporters are in numberless cases as well informed and as well acquainted as we ourselves with the practical details of this injustice, —a Conservative Government, is literally so frightened at the outcry which comes from the comparatively few, but internecine, enemies alike of the Church and of Conservatism, that this prime need of justice to voluntary schools, and of consideration for the rate-paying public, is utterly neglected. No, not quite that;—but perhaps it is even more unsatisfactory. The 13th clause of the Bill does acknowledge, but does not meet, the need. We cannot believe that the responsible parent of the Bill is himself unwilling to mete out that equal justice which is all that Church people ask for or desire. We regret that we should have to seek from Parliament that justice which we would far rather have received at the hands of a Government which owes its advent to power so largely to Church people. But the case is as we say, and we are consequently compelled to revert to the subject, and once more trouble our readers with an article devoted to business rather than literature or theology. We must set forth fully, *first*, those omissions which have to be made good before any Churchman can regard the Bill as even tolerably honest; and, *secondly*, those general principles which we conceive ought to guide churchmen in their views as to the due action of the Church towards State education

under existing circumstances. It will scarcely be possible to avoid in some degree mixing up these two sets of considerations, but we will do our best to be as clear and intelligible as we can.

First, then, as to these omissions, as to the amendments by which it is sought to supply them, and the reasons for them. That Churchmen may not waste their force by trying to do too much, we advise our friends to limit their demands to two. Of these the first should be the amendment of the 13th clause; the second, a provision for the decent extinction of moribund School Boards.

The 13th clause is that peculiarly unlucky clause, whereby the Government—we hardly like to say Lord Sandon—confesses that the supporters of voluntary schools have made good their claim for increased pecuniary aid, but fails altogether to meet it. The clause is illusory in its action; its only use lies in its confession. Well-meant it may have been, and doubtless was; but its effect will be too small for any useful purpose, while its incidence as often as not will be in the wrong place. The Government have made the error, from which their officials ought to have protected them, of confusing between poor districts and poor schools. Perhaps, however, it may not have been so much a confusion of thought as an incapacity, not uncommon with official people, of seeing anything except as represented in a rate-book or other such official document. With us the individual school is our unit, our ultimate atom, and if its surroundings be such that local subscriptions are not to be got, we call it—as it really is—a poor school. With the official mind it is otherwise. The 'separate rating district' is the ultimate atom of its Cosmos, ultimate and therefore indivisible. The official mind can conceive nothing *more* ultimate. And so when we are asking for consideration to be shown to poor schools, the official mind cannot get beyond the conception of poor districts. Yet if to the official mind, the *idea* of the separate rating district is 'one and indivisible,' as the old French Republic vainly claimed to be, at all events there are divisions when you come to the concrete thing. For a district means an area, and an area may refuse to be homogeneous; and it will have its poor quarter and its rich quarter; and the only connection between them will often be that effected by the bookbinder who stitched the leaves of the rate-collector's receipt-book. So in what the rate-book will represent as a rich district you may have a school in a poor quarter surrounded with poverty, of which the rich quarter of the district has

no knowledge and towards which it feels no claim ; while in a district which on the average is poor you may have the reverse phenomenon. The fact is that a 'separate rating district' is very far from being the ultimate atom which it is taken for at the Privy Council Office. Nay, it by no means follows that it is a moral or a social unit at all. So much so that you may have the divisions we have spoken of coming over and over again in a single specimen. We confess ourselves irritated at this piece of red-tapism. Had the Bill been legislating for schools in China (not to say Laputa), where tabulated statistics might be the best facts you could get to go upon, we would not complain. But here is a case where ocular demonstration and local information can have full swing, and the actual position and opportunities of each school may be as fully known as every landowner knows the different circumstances of each farm he has to let—or else what is all the personal knowledge and personal work of all our army of inspectors for? To what other end are all the Privy Council's requirements as to the personal work and personal observation of local managers, if it is not to be appealed to and utilised in such cases as these? The mere fact of the clause dealing with districts instead of schools shows it to require amendment if it is to do any good. Lancashire readers will understand us when we add that schools in Ancoats, and Deansgate, and Angel Meadow, in Manchester, would not be relieved by this clause.

But this is by no means all. What justice requires is that in the altered condition of things brought about by the competition of Board schools and voluntary schools, the principle of payment by results should now have free play and equal application. The principle was not one of our own invention, and it has many imperfections and inconveniences. But we suppose that we are saddled with it for as far ahead as it is worth while to look, and therefore what we would ask for is simply that it be allowed to work itself out unchecked, and without the added injustices of arbitrary modifications. Let it be applied in its integrity to all schools alike—Board schools and voluntary schools, rich schools and poor schools, schools which stand in poor districts and schools which stand in rich districts—and then at least we shall know where we are. It is not that it will help us in all cases, but even if it did it would help Board schools as well. Some of our own schools may perish under it, but if so it will at all events be the weakest—alas not necessarily the worst—that would go to the wall. It would give us a fair field and no favour upon an intelligible basis, and whatever might be the issue, at least it must be a

case of the survival of the fittest. At present we cannot consider that we have this fair field ; and the 13th clause does not give it to us. Let us explain a little.

Payment by results means the grant to the school funds of a certain sum from Government for each child's attainment as certified upon examination by H. M. Inspector. All the rest of the school cost has to be defrayed by the children's payments *plus* the voluntary subscriptions in the case of voluntary schools—in the case of Board schools by the school pence *plus* the rates. It is obvious, then, that in a highly efficient school, where the children's pence are high, the demand upon the voluntary subscriptions on the one hand, or the rates on the other, may upon this plan be very much reduced ; and, had this method been for the first time introduced when Board schools were invented, it might very likely have been applied in its integrity. But when this principle was first invented by the calculating mind of Mr. Lowe, there were no Board schools to share the advantage. There were none but voluntary schools then ; and so, lest payment by results should prove too favourable, it was ordained that the payment should not be made (*i.e.* that the payment should *not* be by results) beyond the amount of half the actual expenses of the school, or to an extent beyond the amount of school pence *plus* the voluntary subscriptions. In other words, we *do not* get payment by results, but in a very large number of cases only a part of it. This of course does not hamper a Board school, because, whatever ultimate deficit may be caused, all has to be made up out of the rates ; but it hits *us* very hard, and that too in the exact cases where it is not only unjust, but where one would have expected it would have been thought worth while to help voluntary schools to keep on foot. For the cases where it hurts are those poor neighbourhoods where school fees are low, and where subscriptions are hard to get, the localities therefore where any addition to the rates is peculiarly onerous, and where *any* claim for relief of local taxation is peculiarly well founded. Yet these are just the cases where the extinction of voluntary schools is most imminent. Let the principle of payment by results have its unfettered operation, and then not only will justice be done to many a struggling school, but the rates will be relieved from the imposition of a Board school exactly where the ratepaying class is but one step removed above the rate-aided classes—that is, exactly where local burdens may most justly be relieved by the imperial exchequer.

But again : we have not fully stated the unfairness of the

present system as between voluntary schools and Board schools. The ramifications of its unfairness are curiously wide. Thus, for example, in calculating the cost of a *Board* school it is not merely 'maintenance' that is taken into account, but cost of administration and management—an item which swells its expenses enormously, and so inflicts a very much heavier burden on the ratepayers than the mere sustentation of the schools themselves.

No such item appears in the accounts of voluntary schools, and the consequence is, that the cost of their support is correspondingly reduced below that of the competing Board schools. How comes this? Not because their management is less efficient or requires less trouble, but simply because, being 'voluntary' and unpaid, it does not appear in the accounts. The misfortune is, that because the managers of Church schools do not charge for their work, because they do it for nothing, therefore it goes for nothing. Now why should not the value of their work be put in, and allowed to count towards their claim on the payment by results? How large an item in the cost of an elementary school that value really is, comes out for the first time now that you have Board-school accounts to look at. Turning to page 25 of the newly issued Privy Council Report, you find that the gross cost of the Board schools for the year ending August 31, 1875, was 881,640*l.* Now, how much of this went under that head of 'maintenance' which in voluntary schools sets the limit past which the payment by results is withheld? Actually not more than 558,874*l.*—only 63·4 per cent. of the whole. All the rest goes under the head of 'administration' and 'miscellaneous charges.' We had better extract the complete figures. They are as under:

Administration . . . . .	<sup>£</sup> 139,108
Maintenance . . . . .	558,874
Miscellaneous . . . . .	183,658

No explanation is given of these 'miscellaneous' charges, which nevertheless the Privy Council sets down as being charged legitimately upon income and not set against the capital account. But if we confine our attention to what they themselves call 'administration' as contrasted with 'miscellaneous,' what do we see? We see that the same schools which cost 558,874*l.* to 'maintain,' cost 139,108*l.* to 'manage.' In other words—we beg pardon, we ought to say, in other figures—for every FOUR pounds spent in maintenance ONE

pound has to be added for administration ! Observe that we are here leaving out of the calculation that unexplained 'miscellaneous' item which would add about another *1l. 6s. 8d.* to the *1l.* named above. But keeping only to what the Report *calls* administration, these figures show that 'management' costs just a quarter as much as maintenance. Hence, upon the Board schools' own showing, our voluntary schools are worth at least one quarter more of their cost of maintenance as the value of managerial work. In the case of Board schools *all* this managerial cost comes out of the pocket of the public. Why should not ours be allowed at least to *count* towards the payment by results ? In that case a voluntary school costing *400l.* a year would stand for another *100l.* under the head of management. This *100l.* would bring up its total cost to *500l.*, with *250l.* instead of *200l.* as the half-cost limit of claim under payment by results ; while under the head of 'sources of income' you would have to reckon, not only children's pence and voluntary subscriptions, but also this *100l.* of 'value of management' contributed by the managers.

We cannot help believing that we have now shown good cause for regarding the voluntary schools as not only worth some extra help from the Government, but, as things now stand, as being very far from receiving even that amount of help to which equal justice entitles them. In our former paper, that, namely, of January last, we showed that it would be to the interest of the country and of the ratepayers to keep the voluntary schools on foot. What we would now urge on Members of Parliament is this farther consideration, that the unfairness to which the voluntary schools are exposed goes very much farther than is generally understood, and that 'relief' is not only good policy but bare justice. Clause 13 admits the truth of our allegation. We have sufficiently shown how very far it is from meeting the need.

What course, then, would we propose to be taken by our representatives in Parliament ? We care very little what form the necessary amendments take, provided the end be secured. That form of amendment is best which deals out the most equal justice to voluntary schools and Board schools alike, and which adheres most closely to the now established principle of payment by results. Accordingly, we approve *any* amendment which removes those limitations on the payment by results, which, while unjust in themselves, make that principle inoperative in the very cases where the deservings are greatest. We should not object to the National Society's proposed amendment which would place a uniform limit on



the amount to be contributed by the State towards the education of any individual child, whether in Board or voluntary schools, and to make *this* and not the amount of sums raised from other sources the limit of the Parliamentary grant. That amendment suggests the following to be added at the beginning of Clause 13 :

*The ninety-seventh section of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, shall be read as if the following proviso were added thereto : Provided that where the annual Parliamentary grant claimed by managers of an Elementary School does not exceed 17s.6d. for each scholar in average attendance, the limitation of the grant to an amount not greater than the income of the school from sources other than the grant, or than half the expenditure in the annual maintenance of the school, shall not apply.*

But though we would admit of this as being of uniform application all round, and of a fair amount in money, we strongly prefer the simple removal of limitation and the application of the 'results' principle unfettered.

And again, in order to rectify the mode of calculation of the income of the school from these 'other sources,' perhaps the fairest way would be to add in the annual value of the school buildings. Where these are rented, there will of course be no question as to the amount. In the far more common cases of the buildings being freehold and originally built by the school managers for the purpose, it will be sufficient to estimate their annual value at *eight shillings* per head on the accommodation, such accommodation to be certified according to the regulations of the Education Department by H.M. Inspector. Add this and the amount of any endowment to the 'income from other sources,' do this in the case of voluntary and Board schools alike, and then we believe that substantial justice may be done in these particulars. One more injustice remains to be removed, and that is the unfairness of *rating* school premises. These three amendments granted, we would ask no more on the head of finance. Church schools and Board schools are clearly destined to divide the land between them. Be it so. Only let the terms of their co-existence be fairly equal, and we will abide the issue.

But there is one great 'amendment'—addition we should rather say—which ought to be made to the Government Bill before it can be regarded as even approaching to the character of the full completion of the Act of 1870. We mean some provision for the decent death and burial of moribund School Boards. The Act of 1870 did not provide for this. Perhaps

it was too much to expect of it. The framers of that Act went at their work in a spirit of somewhat wild enthusiasm. The School Board was their pet; that it was not destined to something like an endless life never seems to have occurred to them. It was enough for them to assist at its birth. They may be forgiven for not adding the function of the undertaker to the more interesting one in which they rejoiced. It is another matter now. Doubtless there are School Boards which are destined to hand down Mr. Forster's name to future generations. Grateful ratepayers for many a long year to come will annually bless his memory, as it will be kept fresh before them by the periodical claims of the rate-collector. But it is not every district where School Boards have come into existence where this hope is likely to be realized. There are many where the Board has never walked, we might almost say has never left its cradle. There are many places where the only useful purpose that the Boards have served has been to provide some moderate salaries for some not very hard-worked employés. They have come through no fault of their own into an unappreciative world which will not give them work, and yet they cannot die; at least, they have no legal way of departing from their unprofitable existence. There are also other places where the Board has both walked and worked, but where the more it has done the less it has been liked, and where people would only be too happy to be allowed to do in less expensive and more congenial ways whatever the Board has set on foot. Five years have cooled the affection of a good many districts for Mr. Forster's creations. It is time, therefore, that there should be some legitimate mode provided for helping these decently out of existence.

Now the one great merit of Lord Sandon's Bill is that it provides for doing whatever good a Board can do without the intervention of its expensive and cumbersome machinery. There will be many places where, when this Bill has passed, it will be found very desirable to substitute Lord Sandon's machinery for Mr. Forster's; many where people would gladly have done with School Boards altogether; not a few where, as we have above pointed out, the School Board exists only in a state of suspended animation, and only wants to be allowed to shuffle decently out of the world. As things now are, in all these cases the Boards are doomed to a luckless immortality. We can scarcely doubt that Parliament and Lord Sandon will consent to give them the means of a decent exit from the scene. Add this amendment to what we have above proposed, and we shall be content.

Our readers will observe that in our consideration of this Bill we have limited ourselves very rigidly to those precise particulars in which we, as Churchmen, *must* demand consideration. We have done this advisedly. To travel over all the questions raised by the Bill would exceed the space at our disposal. Moreover, though it might be serviceable, still we cannot but think that it would lead us somewhat farther afield than is our proper scope. *Our* chief business is with the Bill as it affects the work of the Church, and how it may be rendered just towards her work and her position. Our business is to do this with as full a statement of our reasons and our grounds as may be, leaving the settlement of other controverted points which do not touch on our domain to those whom it more immediately concerns.

But some one will say, Are you not falling back into a somewhat narrow view, in thus confining yourself to that particular aspect of the Bill, and those particular amendments, which affect you as Churchmen? We do not think so, and for the following reasons:

The whole drift and current of recent legislation upon the subject of education has tended in one direction, that, namely, of *doing without the Church*. We prefer to put it mildly, otherwise we might have used stronger language. It has been with this view that the Board schools have been set up throughout the country; with this view that religious teaching is ignored; with this view that legislative facilities have been given for overriding the trust-deeds of Church schools and making them over to School Boards, and so on. The *rush* with which all this came upon us in 1870 has made its mark upon the country. We do not say that it has carried all before it—far from it. But it has had a certain measure of success. It is certain that its prestige is waning, and that too as a result of practical experience of its working. It is certain, we consider, that its prestige will wane still more, as people become more fully acquainted with it. How very considerable a hold it still has upon the official mind is best evidenced by the feeble and halting attempt which, in spite of real good will, is all that Lord Sandon has ventured to propose in our favour. We allude, of course, to Clause 13. The legislation, then, of 1870 has, we say, made its mark upon the country. It has constituted that date a fresh point of departure. Things are not what they were before. A real definite change has come over the whole field of action in respect of education since that date, and the consequence is that a policy, a way of looking at things, and a mode of action on

the Church's part which would have been both good and wise before 1870, may be neither the one nor the other now. If any of our friends have failed to realise this, let us beg them to look the facts in the face and ponder them.

The great fact, then, to observe is, that the attitude of the State towards education and the Church is not merely modified, it is fundamentally changed. Prior to 1870 the State took no initiative in education. Prior to 1870 voluntary zeal, *i.e.* in actual practice, religious zeal, not only took the initiative, but the State accepted that initiative, and only entered as a co-operating, assisting, and regulating partner in the work. True, enough, its partnership was of rather an encroaching description, but the basis of action was such as we describe. Prior to 1870 the initiative was with religious zeal. The State had no idea of any other initiative. All the elementary schools in the country wore the livery of their parentage.

The vast majority of schools throughout the country were Church schools, and were founded to carry out Church views. Education as a whole was a Church work, was so treated by the State, was legislated for on that basis; so that when the Church spoke upon any matter of educational legislation, she spoke about such legislation as a whole, because, practically speaking, the agencies chiefly concerned were (1) herself and (2) those schools which were her creation and her property.

Since 1870 all this is altered. Now it is the State which, so far as the eye of the law is concerned, takes the initiative. And though its initiative has not enabled—and, please God, never will enable—her to occupy an educational area or to do an educational work of anything like the magnitude that the Church has done—and, please God, shall continue to do—still there stands the fact. As a matter of State law, the State has assumed the initiative. We do not say that the Church surrenders her moral initiative in the matter, for, as a matter of responsibility to God, the Church, so long as she is worth the name, *must* act upon her teaching mission. But upon the worldly platform, upon the floor of the House of Commons, the *legal* initiative has been assumed by the State, and the position prior to 1870 is exactly reversed. Instead of the State saying to the Church, Education is your business, and I will help you, what the Legislature now says is this, Education is MY business; from my point of view I alone am responsible, and upon *that* basis I shall legislate.

Again, upon this basis the State has raised a large system of schools—schools that we call Board schools, schools from which all Church co-operation is jealously

excluded, schools which lie altogether outside the area of the Church's action. The Church remains in possession of her own schools, she retains that area of her own divine mission ; but this is a matter between herself and her Lord. Her educational action in the country is now, logically speaking and legally speaking, an accident, instead of being of the essence of the matter as it was before 1870. If the Church were to withdraw from the whole education field to-morrow, to the eye of the law and of the State it would make no difference ; the law would take its course, would fill the gap with State schools everywhere, education (so called) would go on all the same. Such, since the Church's great defeat in 1870, is the actual state of things. It is time that we recognized it. It is time that we set ourselves to act accordingly.

What do we mean by 'act accordingly?' We mean this:—accept the position ; strengthen ourselves to the uttermost *within* the area which we already hold ; maintain within that area our standard of religious education, which shall serve also as a standing example of what it *ought* to be everywhere ; but abstain altogether, until better times shall come, from attempting to modify the State's legislation for all that is beyond our area. The time may come, when we may be asked to do so ; but it certainly is not come yet. The impetus of 1870 is still too strong for us in many ways. It is far too early days as yet for the Church to attempt to do any real good in the way of influencing the State's mode of dealing with education within the area which it has secured to itself. What we can do is to hold our own ground, to make our own schools as efficient as possible, morally, religiously, intellectually,—to increase the area which we *do* occupy by every means in our power, and so to limit to the uttermost the sphere within which the State has won its usurped supremacy. And with this view we say, let Churchmen accept the position, and in any debates upon this or any other educational measure, let them confine themselves—*quâ Churchmen*—to those aspects of the measure which concern their interests as Churchmen, *i.e.* to requiring simple justice to their own schools. As citizens, as Englishmen, we have a right to equal justice at the hands of the law. If the Government introduces an Education Bill, and if that Bill, so far as it touches our schools, does us injustice, let us leave no stone unturned to obtain redress, let us never abate the effort to obtain justice. But let us not do more.

It is on this principle then that our counsel is that—*quâ Churchmen*—we confine ourselves to pressing those amend-

ments which directly concern ourselves.<sup>1</sup> Let the Church abstain from any meddling, through any organs of hers, with that which lies outside her own range. It is no necessary business of hers to go into the question of compulsion, direct or indirect. Persuasion, not force, is her motto. Let her not try to dictate to the State what precise measure of religion (?) shall be dealt out in those State schools from which she is so carefully excluded. She holds up her own standard of what it ought to be in the ten thousand schools where she is still supreme, and whence, if she continues to do her duty, she will never be dethroned.

In a word, then, our counsel as to the Church's general policy, for the present and for some time to come, is to accept this position, but to insist with the utmost tenacity on our being exposed to no additional unfairness by its mode of working.

The settlement of 1870, in the form in which it finally became law, was in itself unfair enough to all who hold a definite creed. Practically it came to this, that wherever the Government system has its way, there a new Government-religion for education is established at the expense of the ratepayers, and this new Government-religion is one which *may* be watered down to nothing, as at Birmingham, but which *may not* be improved above the level of what for convenience we may call British-and-Foreign-ism. Now the believers in British-and-Foreign-ism are persons who have never made any large sacrifices for education—and we have. Moreover, the great mass of the rates fall, not upon the believers in British-and-Foreign-ism, but upon us. The consequence is, that by the 1870 settlement, they have managed to get *their* religion 'established' at *our* expense, wherever the Government system prevails, leaving us all the time to carry on our own schools under the disadvantage of a competition towards which we are compelled to be the largest contributors. If this is *fair*, all we can say is, that it reminds us of that well-known 'division of labour' by which one party does the paying, and the other party the enjoying—a very agreeable arrangement for the latter, but which no one ever called *fair* except those who profited by the arrangement.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is here said against any independent movement, either in or out of Parliament, for improving Board School education in respect of religion. All that we contend for is, that *the Church* should abstain from intruding herself into a sphere where she cannot have her proper scope, and where she would only incur responsibility without the correlative influence and power.



Why then is it that we counsel Churchmen for the present to content themselves with securing as much fairness as they can under this most unfair régime, instead of labouring might and main for its overthrow, or at least for its correction? Our grounds are mainly these—that its overthrow is impossible, its correction doubtful, but, above all, that by this slower, calmer, and more self-repressive course we shall ultimately do more to advance our *principles* than if we were to win a more immediate *party* success. Look how we stand. Spite of all discouragement, we do hold our own and something more. The Government Report just issued shows an increase in the average attendance at Church schools of 57,828. A year ago it was 1,117,461, now it is 1,175,289. A year ago we had 8,799 schools, now we have 9,449, an increase of 650. A year ago the total annual subscriptions to Church schools was 470,375*l.*, the amount for the year ended August 31, 1875, was 528,483*l.*: while the outlay on building the additional schools reached 230,390*l.*<sup>1</sup> Facts like these are the very best possible grounds on which to urge our claim on Parliament for the fair dealing which we claim under the existing system. They serve also to indicate how, in the long-run, we may best serve the cause which we have at heart—that namely of promoting the religious character of our elementary education. These figures show that not only have we been the first in the field, but that we have got fast hold of by far the larger proportion of the field. They show that in spite of all discouragements, we are keeping our hold of it. And this being so, they show that we are in a position to maintain everywhere before the public eye, not a theoretical, but an actual standard of religious education. And what will be the result if we quietly go on holding up our own standard without attempting to *force* a higher standard upon the Government schools? Why, unquestionably this, that after a little while the Board schools will of themselves begin to raise their standard, and try to gain credit for coming as near us as they can. There may be, and alas there is, much laxity and immorality in the country, but, after all, the country is religious at heart, and the Birmingham clique is quite out of harmony with the national conscience. What the national instinct shrinks from is compulsion in matters of religion, not from religion itself. It will follow where it will not be driven. It will end in imitating

<sup>1</sup> It is to be remembered likewise that out of (in round numbers) 3,000 teachers in training in the Training Colleges, above 2,000 are shown in this year's Government Report to be in those of the Church.

what it would reject if forced upon it. Keep up a high standard before people's eyes and there will be a tendency to emulate it.

Before long the School Boards will begin to be ashamed of their schools standing in a disadvantageous contrast with the Church schools in respect of religious teaching. Already one sees this tendency beginning to operate, and we have even met with a case in which a School Board had requested inspection and examination at the hand of the 'Religious Inspector' of the diocese. Our advice, then, is, that we do not attempt to interfere, as a Church, with the Government-religion, or the Government religious standard in the State schools; but that we confine ourselves to keeping our own schools in the highest state of efficiency and trust to the operation of time and the national conscience for the improvement of those outside. The Boards themselves will soon find the necessity of it if only we let them alone. The improvement in their tone of education which will thus result from what we may call 'spontaneous emulation' will be a reality so far as it goes, and therefore have a value and an efficacy. It will be inconceivably more potent for good than anything we could get done by persuading the Government to screw up the standard of Board-School-religion a peg or two higher by the central authority. In a word, example will be found more efficient than precept, the persuasive power of example more powerful than legislation. The Church herself will stand upon a moral ground infinitely higher, both now and in the future. She will stand upon a higher moral ground now, by maintaining her own position in her own way and declining any compromise with inferior systems. She will stand upon an infinitely higher ground hereafter, for when the fever of 1870 has spent itself and the reaction has fully come, people generally will come to understand the value of the standard which the Church has refused to lower. There is this advantage, after all, about the Board-School system, that since it makes everybody pay, and pay pretty smartly too, for elementary education, it will make everyone come to know something about it; it will make everybody understand something of the practical value of that religious zeal which can make a Church do voluntarily, and at small cost to the State, what the State cannot do for itself except at such large cost to the ratepayers; it will also make everyone see something of the hollowness and unreality of the purely factious spite which animated the small but active section who led the great crusade against Church

education in 1870, and who misled the country into the costly expedient of Board schools, nominally to serve the interests of education, really with a view to diminish the growing influence of the Church. It is true that we suffered a great defeat in the 1870 settlement, but it was a defeat which may end in the Church's character standing higher, her services being more thoroughly appreciated, her principles better understood. It was a defeat which may recoil upon those who led the onslaught when people come to compare the fruits of victory with the price; and when they find that, after all the cost and trouble of the Birmingham bantling, it only ends in this, that the more that a Board school resembles a Church school the better they like it.

But to this end two conditions must be fulfilled. We must, *first*, maintain our own principles, and *next* we must maintain our own schools.

1. The first of these conditions requires that we make no compromise with the religious—or, rather, non-religious—basis of the Board-School system. This we shall do, or at all events, shall be supposed to do (which for all practical purposes is the same thing) if the Church, by her accredited organs, enters into any negotiation with Government, or commits itself to any amendments on the Bill with a view to imposing any religious standard on the Board schools. For it is absolutely certain that, under present circumstances, no standard could be fixed to which the Church could be a party without sacrifice of principle. The immediate rejoinder would be, 'If you *are* satisfied with this, why need you keep up your own schools at all?' The result would be that, our own schools would lose their *raison-d'être* and fall away, that the Board system, with its miserably low standard, *would* become universal, and then, with no external standard to lift it above itself, that low standard would sink lower and lower, until at last it would be all one with no standard at all. No; let us stand quite clear of the Board-School system. It will be the better for both of us that we do so. Stand clear of it and it may rise to us. Coquet with it, we sink ourselves without improving it.

2. And we must maintain our schools. To this, then, as the final point, our whole effort for the present is narrowed down. And our counsel is, that our whole parliamentary action as regards the present Bill should be concentrated upon the one point of getting something like pecuniary justice done to our struggling schools. This was why we opened the present article, not with any exposition of principles or questions of higher policy, but with a simple discussion of finance and an expo-

sure of pecuniary wrong. Take away all restrictions on payment by results, *i.e.* extend Clause 13, and thereby set our schools free to earn their livelihood if they do their work ; take away the irremovableness of a School Board, so that, if a district should prefer to revert to voluntary schools, it may be free to do so ; and then the two systems will be free to go on side by side, not, indeed, on equal terms, for even then we shall be desperately weighted in the race, but, at any rate, not on such flagrantly unequal terms as exist at present. Is it too much to expect these two acts of mere reparation from a Parliament of Churchmen and from a Conservative administration ? It has been bad enough to have suffered all these years under the hand of a tyrannous majority of declared opponents ; but at all events they *were* opponents and we knew what we had to look for. If otherwise, if these acts of simple justice be refused by those who call themselves our friends, we shall be forced to say that friends and foes are strangely similar ; Cæsar and Pompey very much alike, especially Pompey.

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#### SHORT NOTICES.

*Joannis Coleti Opuscula quædam Theologica. Letters to Radulphus on the Mosaic Account of the Creation, together with other Treatises, by John Colet, M.A., afterwards Dean of St. Paul's.* Now first published, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by J. H. LUPTON, M.A., Sur-Master of St. Paul's School, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (George Bell and Sons.)

MR. LUPTON'S very proper and commendable regard for the Founder of St. Paul's School has rescued those of that Founder's writings which have been discoverable from the obscurity of the manuscript-room, and given to them such a new lease of immortality as the press of to-day—which is, after all, but a tenant for life—has in its power to confer. In the volume before us we have the concluding portion of Dean Colet's works in the original Latin, to which their editor has prefixed an excellent English version, much to the advantage of both learned and unlearned readers. The good Dean was not precisely a Cicero ; he was, to tell the truth, but too fond of the base and new-fangled words for which, however, the colloquial Latin of his time is, no doubt, mainly responsible ; and we suspect that his Latinity must have tried his editor now and then. So that it is as well for all parties that we have a translation. We do not enter into the question whether these treatises were in themselves worth reproduction. The republishing is an act of duty to Colet's memory, and there is no

more to be said. We fear, in fact, that, as expositions of the earlier chapters of the Book of Genesis, the 'Letters to Radulphus' are not good for much. They show considerable ingenuity, but it is of a perverse kind. The abysmal ignorance concerning physical science of even the best instructed men in that age threw them back upon allegorical or mystical expositions. Colet had certainly a yearning for something better. But we don't think he saw his way to it. As far as 'Radulphus' is concerned, we are sure he did not; and his 'Letters' accordingly present a curious patchwork of ideas gathered from the pseudo-Dionysius—a great authority with Colet—the Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle, Pico della Mirandola, and other writers of the same class. They are remarkable, therefore, as showing the ingenuity and mental power of the writer. That they are readable at all must be regarded as a great proof of this. But Colet, we feel assured, must have felt that he was not giving the real sense of the text. In fact, he confesses, not once nor twice, that he has not satisfied even himself, and begs for correction from his correspondent. The really remarkable thing about this is, that he should have written at all, under the circumstances. He was not in anywise the man to write for writing's sake. He had nothing of the *cacœthes scribendi* in his nature; and in all probability the real explanation is, that he wrote with the desire to clear his own mind upon the subject, and without any intention of giving his entangled and laborious speculations a wider publicity.

The unfinished composition on the 'Mystical Body' is apparently the fragment of a sermon having for its theme the indwelling of the Divine Spirit in the Church. Whilst warmly orthodox, its illustrations and similes are rather forced and cumbrous; nor is it particularly able as a composition. Nearer to the writer's heart, and far more congenial to his powers, is the Exposition of the first five chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. His own disposition, earnest to follow, and anxious to teach others, the simple path of salvation, harmonized exactly with the line of thought pursued in the Epistle. Accordingly, there is no beating about the bush here. The writer expounds with the ease and clearness of one who is thoroughly master of his subject; and we can quite understand the enthusiasm and acceptance with which these Lectures were received when he read them in Oxford. 'Irreligion,' he cries, 'and neglect of God is the source of all evils. True religion through Jesus Christ is the root of all good.' The comments are remarkably simple and direct; the illustrations familiar; and the reader feels a regret, which he certainly does not feel with regard to 'Radulphus,' that he has not the entire comment in a complete state. Mr. Lupton has appended to his versions a list of all the works of Colet extant, letters written by him, and so on. A curious 'Epistola ad Wolseium,' assigned by Professor Brewer to the year 1517, asks the Cardinal—at that time the all-powerful dispenser of all patronage in Church and State—for some ecclesiastical preferment to be conferred upon his first sur-master, John Rightwise. We hardly know who is the modern antitype of the great Cardinal and Premier; but we hope whoever it

is will take the hint, and do likewise to the present and (as it seems probable) the *last* sur-master of Colet's ancient foundation.

*The Life of the Right Reverend C. R. Sumner, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester.* By his Son, the Rev. G. SUMNER. (London: J. Murray, 1876.)

IF Mr. George Sumner had styled his book the *Eulogium*, and not the *Life*, of Charles Richard Sumner, D.D., Bishop of Winchester, it would have more accurately described what will be found in its pages. He has certainly succeeded in showing that in domestic life his father exhibited in a very perfect manner all the qualities which endear a man to his family and friends. He also sets him before us as a handsome, dignified gentleman, able to win the popular heart by conciliating manners, general kindliness, and generous liberality. The incidents of his life show great activity, industry in mastering detail, and practical power in dealing with events as they arose. During a long and singularly prosperous life, he exhibited a thorough appreciation of his own good fortune, and a hearty enjoyment of the happiness showered upon him. So far we can agree generally with this story of Bishop Sumner's life; but here we part company. His biographer claims for him an influence which he was not generally believed to possess, an impartiality of administration which those who differed from him will be surprised to hear of, and a far-sighted wisdom which it is difficult to reconcile with the measures which he supported or opposed. Those who are familiar with the diocese of Winchester assert that he was never known to promote a man whose views did not coincide with his own. We are assured that during his episcopate he never even preached or confirmed in any of the poorer churches in South London, the incumbents of which differed from him in their views of religious truth. This want of power of sympathizing with men who did not pronounce his shibboleth is curiously and unintentionally illustrated in this biography. A clergyman who had seceded to Rome wished to return to the Anglican communion. He opened communications with Bishop Sumner, and lived in retirement for three years, for the avowed purpose of being received again into the fold from which he had strayed. The probationary term having expired, the Bishop heard, apparently from a Roman Catholic priest who wished to hinder his return, that the penitent clergyman had been seen in a Roman Catholic chapel; upon which the Bishop wrote to him in a strain which effectually destroyed all wish to be again a member of the Anglican communion. There is a like inability of entering into the position of opponents manifested in his manner of acting about the offertory; and, singularly enough, Mr. Sumner cites this incident as a proof of his large-heartedness. He evidently approves of the system, and in a charge recommends its adoption where it meets with universal approval; but he cannot resist the opportunity of blaming those to whom its introduction was due, and discourages all action which might influence opinion in its favour when any opposed it.



A good deal is said of Bishop Sumner's opposition to Ritualism. Now if Mr. Sumner really wished to prove that this opposition was not mere party spirit, he should at least have said something with reference to the following startling fact brought out by statistics gathered by Lord Shaftesbury and his friends relative to South London. These statistics showed that ninety-eight out of every hundred working men in that part of London included in Bishop Sumner's diocese never entered a place of worship. The new churches and schools erected during his tenure of the see did not remove this blot, and we hear of no proposal of his to attract this multitude of wanderers into the fold. To oppose Ritualism may be a very good thing, but we should have had more respect for an opposition which sought to remedy the admitted evil, and did not confine itself to hindering other efforts designed to accomplish the end.

All this is sufficiently strange, but the strangest portion of the book is in what it omits. Probably a hundred years hence the name of Bishop Sumner will be as little known as is that of the greater number of his predecessors. The one event in his episcopate which may cause his name to be remembered is the relations into which he was brought with John Keble. But of those relations, and of the painful proceedings connected with his refusal of priest's orders to Mr. Peter Young, not one word is said. It is not as if the biographer had forgotten Mr. Keble, for where he can be made use of his name is at once brought forward; but it is only once, and then it is as approving of one of the Bishop's later charges. There is a like silence about difficulties with respect to the ordination of other candidates for holy orders on grounds similar to those which caused the rejection of Mr. Peter Young, and some of which were common topics of discussion in the diocese. The family connection between the Sumners and the Wilberforces is carefully and usefully explained in a footnote. But there is no allusion to the warm personal interest of Mr. W. Wilberforce in the earlier fortunes of those two Sumners who subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester. Other omissions of a similar kind might be enumerated; but perhaps the most daring suppression is that of the name of the Marchioness of Conyngham. It never once appears. The alleged special reason for her patronage of Mr. Sumner seems to us happily disposed of by positive statements, which are completely subversive of what was alleged; but that she was Mr. Sumner's great patron, we presume is undoubted. The biography states nothing inconsistent with the view that it was to her favour Mr. Sumner owed the royal patronage which literally showered benefits upon him. Between April 1821 and November 1827 he was made Historiographer, Chaplain to the King, and Librarian in Ordinary; Vicar of St. Helen's, Abingdon; Canon of Worcester; Canon of Canterbury; Dean of St. Paul's; Bishop of Llandaff; Bishop of Winchester. If such was the case, it is not quite faithful to facts, or grateful to a benefactor—however much he may have justified the favour shown to him—wholly to

ignore the cause to which alone he owed his rapid rise. Mr. Sumner, by this biography, has proved his filial affection; he has certainly not shown that he possesses any power of impartial criticism.

For two things in this book we thank Mr. Sumner. There are some good sketches of the state of social and political feeling in the early days of his father's episcopate. There are also a couple of capital letters from the great Duke of Wellington on the evils of pews, which we should think the Free and Open Church Societies will not fail to make the most of.

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*Journal of Commodore Goodenough, R.N., C.B., C.M.G., during his Last Command as Senior Officer on the Australian Station, 1873-1875.* Edited, with a Memoir, by his WIDOW. With Maps, Steel Engraved Portrait, and Woodcuts. (London: Henry S. King and Co., 1876.)

THIS Memoir and Journal will afford satisfaction to a very natural desire in the public mind to learn more of one whose great public services and sudden and tragical death have rendered him famous. It depicts a type of man of a very valuable, and, as we are in the habit of thinking, peculiarly English kind. It may be thought that the circumstances of modern times are essentially prosaic, and afford scant opportunity for the display of heroism. Probably every age thinks thus of itself. It requires some effort to see, in the familiar circumstances of our own day, opportunities for a valour as real and as splendid as that of any mail-clad knight of the ages of chivalry. But it is unquestionably there, if we have eyes to see it. James Goodenough is an instance of it, of whom Englishmen may well be proud.

He was the son of Dr. Goodenough, sometime Dean of Wells, and was born in 1830, so that he was only forty-five when he died. He was sent to Westminster School, where he seems to have acquired a name for determination and 'pluck.' He went to sea when he was fourteen; and from this time until he met his death at Santa Cruz his motto was *Duty*; his first question, *What is Right?* This unswerving honesty of purpose, and an equally unmistakable industry, appear the great guiding lines of his character. Whatever his hand found to do, he did it with all his might. Without, as it seems, any exceptional ability, he kept himself in the front ranks of his profession with regard to technical attainments of every kind. He was a remarkably good linguist; and his general intelligence brought him repeated missions to inspect foreign dockyards and arsenals, and often to represent the Naval service on the Continent of Europe. And of actual service before the enemy he saw as much as probably most officers see in these times of peace. He took part in the Russian war, being on board H.M.S. 'Hastings' in the Baltic. Then he went out to the China station in the 'Raleigh,' which was wrecked in the China seas. After this a separate command was given him, and he served through the Chinese war, partly at the head of a naval brigade on shore, partly in command of the 'Calcutta.' His corre-

spondence is particularly interesting at this time. He describes war at close quarters, and it is by no means a pretty thing :

‘The boats had pulled on after the capture of the first body of junks, and ignorant of the existence of these twenty, in front of whom three or four light leading boats suddenly found themselves at a turn of the river. A heavy fire began directly our boats checked their speed. The heavy boats with guns came up, but either touched a bank or were carried by the current against those already on it, and a sad loss followed. Major Kearney, a volunteer, Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Army, was almost the first killed by an 18-pounder full in the breast, as he sat by the side of Captain Leckie, in the “Fury’s” gig. A round shot struck the Commodore’s galley, and she began to fill. He stepped on the thwart to keep dry till another boat came up, and another shot passed under his feet and went through the bottom of the boat. Victor was with him, binding the stump of a fine young Isle of Wight man’s arm. Another man had both his legs taken off, and two others were wounded as she sank from under them. The Commodore called out to save his pendant, and stepped into Captain Turnour’s cutter, shaking his fist at the junks, promising to pay them out for this in the afternoon. Graham, close to me in the pinnace, had his jacket riddled by grape and his legs blackened by the wind of a round shot. Two men’s heads were taken off by his side, and the blood from their poor trunks literally covered him ; three or four others were wounded in his boat, and the Commodore was persuaded to retire and reform. Just then we came up and opened fire from our bow gun. The boats gave us some of their wounded, which filled our mess-room and cabins, and then dropped astern to reform. . . . I had received many more wounded, nearly all very badly so, and so I was ordered to take them straight to Hong Kong at once, and passed a horrid night on the bridge. Put the sick on board the hospital ship at seven in the morning ; coaled, watered, and started again at six in the evening. Passed another night on the bridge, piloting the ship, and reported myself to the Admiral at nine o’clock the next morning. I never was so dead beat in all my life. All the way down I had the ringing of shot in my ears, and the groans of a poor fellow with half his skull fractured and carried away, who could not be removed. And coming up we had two alarms of springing a leak, and I had actually steered for a sandy place to put the ship on shore—the first from the injection pipe of the engine bursting, and the second from the speed and immersion causing a shot to work out of a hole which it had before stopped for itself’—(p. 21.)

This was his last experience of war. After some years passed on the Mediterranean and other stations, he was appointed commodore on the Australian station. To his report made in conjunction with Mr. Layard it is said to be owing that the annexation of Fiji was determined upon. Whilst cruising among the islands in the ‘Pearl’ the deplorable incident took place in which his valuable life was sacrificed, there can be no doubt, to the dislike and fear produced in the natives by previous visits of kidnappers to the islands. The grief and regret felt at the news of his death at Fiji, in Australia, wherever in the Southern archipelago he was known, was embodied in official declarations, which form the most striking proof of the respect and attachment which he never failed to inspire. He was manly and unaffectedly Christian to the last ; indeed, we know few

things more truly touching than the story of his last days. He was struck down in his prime of strength and health, and his manner of composing himself to meet the stealthy and gradual approaches of death during those last days may be commended to the perusal of all Christian men. It recalls Addison's death-bed; with as much composure and steadiness, more affectionateness, and less perhaps of that theatricality of feeling which causes a *tableau*; for Addison's famous sentence we have always felt to be somewhat in the Frenchified manner of that time.

From a literary point of view the Memoir is simple and pleasing. There are no excrescences, no jets of fine writing, no obtrusion of the writer's personality; all is calm, dignified, and as well drawn up as a State paper—such a memorial, doubtless, as the deceased would have wished, had his modesty permitted him ever to contemplate the possibility of his requiring one.

The Journal is full of intelligence, and interesting; but it is somewhat lengthy. The Commodore's mental activity shows itself in the tentative vocabularies which he was compiling, which are worth attention. But they are so utterly diverse that we cannot but think he must have caught some of the sounds incorrectly. We are heartily glad to see this memorial of a brave and good man.

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*Sermons preached before the University of Oxford and on various Occasions.* By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. (London: Rivingtons, 1876.)

WE do not hesitate to characterize this as one of the most remarkable volumes of sermons ever published. We only do not compare them with some of the few really great sermons which have come from Oxford during the last five-and-thirty years because they are so thoroughly *sui generis* that comparison is out of the question. Of their own kind they are supreme. Any one who will read the sermon on 'Pharisaism' will, we imagine, admit at once that for depth of moral insight, for grasp and co-ordination of moral phenomena and of moral judgment, there is scarcely anything like it in the language; and what we say of this sermon may in a measure be repeated of one or two of what follow, especially those on 'Our Duty to Equals' and on the 'Reversal of Human Judgments.' And the remarks on the duty of preserving our individuality which occur in the sermon on the 'Work of the Spirit in the Natural Man' are as powerful as they are true and important.

It is evident, at a glance, that Professor Mozley is of the school of Bishop Butler. It is also evident that in this volume you have some Butlerian excellences raised to still higher degrees of development than in the Bishop's own performances. The Professor sinks his shafts into strata of our human being underlying any which the Bishop reached. His eloquence—for now and then his theme *forces* him unconsciously into eloquence—is more fervent. His apophtheg-

matic utterances—a feature in which Butler too is strong—are even more frequent, more weighty, more striking. There are short sayings in these sermons that no man can ever forget. We trust that there will be few of our readers who will not study them for themselves.

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*The St. James' Lectures. Companions for the Devout Life:* Six Lectures delivered in St. James' Church, Piccadilly A.D. 1875. With a Preface. By Rev. J. E. KEMPE, M.A., Rector. (London: John Murray, 1875.)

IT is hard to say whether the contents of the volume before us are more beautiful or more useful. The extreme beauty of the lectures on the '*Pensées*' of Pascal, and on the '*Confessions*' of S. Augustine, and the force, raciness, and, in some measure, the originality of that on Baxter's *Saint's Rest*, almost make us incline to the former alternative. Yet it is hard to think of anything much more useful to those who will be at the pains to ponder and to assimilate it than the mass of general, moral, and spiritual teaching which positively flood their pages, quite apart from the particular guidance how to get most good out of the book immediately under discussion.

The lectures are, indeed, a singular success. Long enough to grapple fairly with their subjects, they are real and thoroughgoing critiques as well. And at the same time, though critiques, they are counsels also, and you never lose sight of their practical religious intention, namely, to set you right, and to help you to go right. Disclaiming, as their preface does, the title of 'ordinary sermons,' they seem to be *extra-ordinary* chiefly in the amount of teaching conveyed, in the force with which they take hold of you, and in the fact that they produce so thoroughly the impression which it were to be wished that sermons 'ordinarily' effected.

We speak strongly because we feel strongly, and for one reason besides. First, in the limited space which is all that can be given to a mere notice, we cannot review the book in detail, and, therefore, must characterize it decisively. Next, because the volume is the result of a somewhat bold experiment, and the success of that experiment ought to be made known, and its value duly acknowledged. The Rector of St. James' has had the happy tact and boldness to hit upon what in London is a new idea, and turned his afternoon service during the season to an account, for which every one concerned must thank him. And the success shows plainly enough that the pulpit has not lost its power. Here you see a large congregation ready and willing to listen to a sermon of nearly, if not quite, an hour long, and where it must be added that no small demand is often made upon thought and attention. Did our space permit we should gladly quote, but space does not permit, and we must, therefore, content ourselves with our very hearty recommendations of the volume.

*A Commentary on the Gospel of S. Luke.* By F. GODET, Doctor and Professor of Theology, Neuchâtel. Vol. I. Translated from the Second French Edition, by E. W. SHALDERS, B.A., Newbury. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1875.)

THAT great storm of criticism which has so long been raging over all the institutes of the Christian faith, has certainly not spared the Gospel of S. Luke. But it may perhaps be said to have dealt with this Gospel less severely than some others. The reference in its opening verses to ordinary sources of information with respect to the events it records, while in one direction it increases the evidential value, in another somewhat shelters it from attack. The fact that the compiler claims only to have been the eye-witness of few, if any, of the events he describes, coupled with the strong probability that in Chapters i.—iii. he was cognizant of Aramaic records, have undoubtedly tended somewhat to divert the attack from the Gospel itself, and fix it upon subsidiary details; whilst the direction of the defence has naturally followed that of the attack. In a word, S. Luke's Gospel has undoubtedly occupied the attention of commentators and homilists less than either S. Matthew or S. John. The fact is certain; if the reason be not that which we have given above, we do not know what it can be.

Circumstances therefore afford an additional reason for welcoming this version of Prof. Godet's excellent commentary on S. Luke, of which the first volume is before us. We cannot call it a commentary of *popular* character; yet it differs somewhat from the ordinary type, and that in a direction to fit it for general use. 'It has been written,' says its author, 'not so much with a view to its being consulted, as read.' Therefore, its commentary is less technical and brief, less broken and allusive, more continuous, didactic, pastoral; and, while discussing all questions suggested by the text with a fulness and freedom which leave nothing to be desired, the author's view is evidently to interest the heart as well as the mind, and to produce as well an intelligent as a sympathetic and devotional appreciation of the Gospel. It goes very much upon the same lines as Stier's *Reden Jesu*, without his somewhat formal mode of treatment, and its style is more lively and rhetorical. To the clergy we can confidently recommend it. The translation has been well made by Mr. Shalders; and, though there are awkward phrases now and then occurring,<sup>1</sup> the version on the whole reads well. The discussion of the difficult census-question is remarkably thorough, and should be consulted by all who wish to make up their minds. There is considerable weight in the arguments against the view of Tholuck, Ewald, Wieseler, and others (recently, too, accepted without question by Professor Caspari), that *πρώτη ἡγεμονεύοντος* in ii. 2 is equivalent to *πρότερον ἢ ἡγεμονεύειν*, taxing *first made when* . . . to taxing *made before* . . . Prof. Godet puts forward another hypothesis which we give for what it may be worth:—

<sup>1</sup> The barbarism *Quirinius* for Quirinus occurs many times. On p. 40 in the sentence 'Mary accepts the sacrifice of that which is dearer to a young maiden,' &c., he has imperfectly rendered his author.



'We have seen that the census which was carried out by Quirinius in 759 U.C., ten years after the birth of Jesus, made a deep impression upon all the people, convincing them of their complete political servitude. This census is called *the enumeration* without any qualification, therefore (Acts v. 37); but it might also be designated the *first enumeration*, inasmuch as it was the first census executed by pagan authority; and it would be in this somewhat technical sense that the expression ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη would here have to be taken. We should accentuate αὐτή (as has been already proposed) αὐτή, which presents no critical difficulty, since the ancient MSS. have no accents, and understand the second verse thus: As to the census itself called the *first*, it took place under the government of Quirinius, and which history had taken account of under the name of the *first*; there had really been another, generally lost sight of, which was the very one here in question; and thus that it was not unadvisedly that he spoke of a census anterior to the first'—(p. 128.)

Another suggestion to be noted is that on p. 123, that whereas women were ordinarily not liable to appear at the ἀπογραφὴ in person, Mary was an *heirress* (not necessarily of property), *i.e.* sole representative of one of the branches of her tribe, and was therefore required to appear in person. For in strict conformity with this idea, it is argued that the genealogy given by S. Luke is that of S. Mary. The Talmud calls her 'the daughter of Heli'—(*Chagig.* 77. 4.)

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*Biblical Studies on the Old Testament*, by M. GODET. Translated from the French by Mrs. Lyttelton, and edited by the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Lyttelton, Rector of Hagley. (Oxford and London: Parker.)

THE early portions of these graceful and thoughtful studies remind us of M. Nicolas' *Etudes Philosophiques*. How far they serve to reconcile the books of Moses with modern science, we need not undertake to judge. But there is truth and force in the slightly satiric remark, at p. 119, on the physicists, who, a few years since, protested against the doctrine of the unity of the human race, and who now plead in favour of the unity of the entire animal and, possibly, even vegetable creation. But physical science forms only a small part of the problems here discussed. Some ninety pages, about one-fourth of the volume, are occupied with the 'Song of Songs.' M. Godet, with Bossuet, Ewald, and others, gives us an ingenious interpretation of the poem in its literal acceptance, but, unlike Theodore of Mopsuestia, and later critics, is anxious to build the spiritual *exegesis* upon it. Here, again, no one has a right to dogmatize, and so keen a critic as Dr. Littledale regards the attempts at a literal interpretation as unsatisfactory, and with Origen, Theodoret, S. Gregory of Nyssa, and S. Bernard, thinks it safer to adopt the mystic sense alone. On the whole, the studies on the Angels, on the Four Greater Prophets, and, above all, the admirable essay on the Book of Job, appear to us the most valuable parts of M. Godet's book. But it is a suggestive work throughout and very interesting,

though we might here and there be inclined to affix a *cautè legendum* to some of the speculations concerning the Angels.

*Messianic Prophecy: its Origin, Historical Character, and Relation to Old Testament Fulfilment.* By Dr. EDWARD RIEHM, Professor of Theology, Halle. Translated from the German, with the approbation of the Author, by the Rev. JOHN JEFFERSON. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.)

THE book on prophecy before us has the great advantage and value of laying down a definite and unvarying principle of interpretation—a *kind of calculus*—which will enable us to have a reasonable confidence in the correctness of an exposition.

Dr. Riehm's method is not very clearly developed, but we think we shall not be wrong in laying down that he proposes to base all his explanations upon the historical sense of the prophecy then first intended when it was spoken. He holds that the historical events during whose evolution the prophecies were spoken exercised over them a twofold influence. He says:

'The progressive development of Messianic prophecy stands in genetic and teleological connection with the course of the history of the Old Testament kingdom of God—in genetic connection, because of the influence of historical relations just mentioned; in teleological connection, because history, as much as prophecy, was preparing and educating Israel for its destiny, and for the reception of the Messianic blessings. History and prophecy worked together for the same end, ran parallel with each other, and took equal steps'—(p. 83.)

This is clear enough, and points out that the form of the prophecy being suggested by the immediate future of the nation, this outward temporary envelope has to be disengaged before we reach the core of Messianic prediction. The horizon of even the greatest prophets was, according to our author, a limited one, 1 *S. Peter* i. 11, 12, *notwithstanding*. Each of them had his historical limit, circumscribing his vision. It was sometimes narrower, sometimes wider, but never extended farther, in the way, we presume, of definite detailed prediction, than the immediate or quasi-immediate historical consequences of contemporary events.

'It is only the next portion of the path along which God is about to lead His people to another epoch, forming a turning-point in their history, that the enlightened eye of the prophet can see more or less distinctly. But he recognizes it as leading to the end which God in His gracious purpose has designed; for the above-mentioned ideal knowledge of the history of the future may be compared in its relation to the concrete historical development of the kingdom of God, so far as the prophet can survey it from his point of view, to the heavens which limit the spot of earth to be seen from some watch-tower. The latter glory, as observed above, lay before the eyes of every prophet as he gazed into the future; only the new stages of development in the history of the kingdom which might intervene between him and the fulfilment of his hopes were hidden from him'—(p. 92.)

It resulted then that each prophet shaped his Messianic utter-

ances, as it were, *in terms of his own time*, following from the connection which he seemed to see between the present and the remote future. He saw successive future events projected, so to speak, upon a single plane, and therefore he often seems to connect together events which the fulfilment shows to be far apart from each other. Another point upon which he insists is that the Messianic ideas are *presented in instalments*, taken up again and again, never fully combined in one formula, so that the expositor has to gather the idea in its entirety from the collection and collocation of the parts successively unfolded, at separate periods and by prophets living far apart from each other. In both these points he appears to be clearly right; and the positions laid down above have the appearance of great and fruitful principles. It is to be borne in mind, however, that the author, notwithstanding his protests against a spiritualistic scheme of exposition, himself relapses into it, though in isolated instances only. Probably his protest is more against an uniform habit of spiritualising all round, so as to deny the literal application of any prophecy, which is the tendency of Hengstenberg's system, than against detailed instances of the same. He appears to be in error where he lays down that prophecy could never have been uttered during ecstasy, because it arises from an orderly though heightened and extended action of the natural powers. Ecstasy does not necessarily imply disorder and raving. What we understand by it is an elevated and illuminated condition of the entire nature, which does not supersede existing conditions of knowledge, but rather utilises them to the utmost, whilst going beyond them.

On the whole, without pledging ourselves to agreement with every position the treatise contains, we must regard it as a valuable and pregnant one—able and very suggestive, and affording a real contribution to the elucidation of its difficult and ill-understood subject.

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*The Divine Life and New Birth, with a Supplement on the Incarnation.* By the Rev. JAMES CRAIK, D.D., Rector of Christ Church, Louisville. Third Edition. (Louisville: John P. Morton and Co. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. London: Trübner.) 1876.

CONSIDERABLE portions of this work were, as it seems, published in 1850; more than a quarter of a century ago. It is evidently the production of an able and well-furnished mind. But it is not a book whose utterances we should at all like to be bound to. The author must thank himself for this. With the (shall we say wilfulness?) of a powerful thinker, he strives to cast all his utterances into original forms. One has to stop and ask, after each of his general statements, 'How will this harmonize?' &c., &c. We are not meaning that his results are to be regarded with suspicion. On the contrary, the more we read the more we are convinced, that in his views and tendencies he is essentially orthodox and catholic. Still there is sufficient unconventionality about his 'way of putting things' to make people hesitate; and we are not surprised to read the author's hint in his

preface that they encountered 'opposition' when originally published. Persons who like looking at the subjective and philosophical elements of the Christian scheme from novel points of view, and with a certain dash of American *naïveté*, and yet with substantial accuracy in the fundamental positions, will like this book.

*The Spiritual Body; an Essay in Prose and Verse.* By JOHN CHARLES EARLE, B.A. Second Edition. (J. W. Kolckmann.)

THE author of this curiously duplex volume is a Roman Catholic layman, not unknown in literature. He has here given expression to an idea of much beauty, but which is very far from being so original as he thinks it, having been expressed by many thinkers of late—we may mention Serjeant Cox, in his work *The Mechanism of Man*—and indeed may be followed up we know not how far back.

His idea is that, whereas a body of flesh and blood is laid down by each human being at death, it is a spiritual body that is taken up at the resurrection; and that this spiritual body is even now in existence within each of us, as a germ exists in its covering, from which death will set it free; so that it will preserve the identity of the former body under altered conditions. It is obvious that such a view must remain for each of us, until the moment of experience, an unproved theory. But there appears to us to be no valid objection to it as a theory. It is clear and coherent, nor does it conflict with the declarations of Holy Scripture or the doctrines of the Creed, when each are rightly understood; particularly when we bear in mind that in this as in other matters of physical knowledge, Holy Scripture invariably uses popular and anthropomorphic language. It is observable that the author points to the undoubted probability that the material atoms of our fleshly bodies belong to one person after another, and 'could not be reclaimed for individuals at the last day, without taking from numberless bodies of which they have formed part.'

The book is a suggestive one; a book to be read and pondered; but certainly not one to be rashly adopted as a whole.

The poetical part of it has much and frequent beauty of thought, with just as frequent faults of clumsy and prosaic expression. Mr. Earle has, we observe, written a volume of sonnets. They should have taught him the value of dainty workmanship. We daresay the following is true enough in point of fact; but oh! what commonness and bathos of expression. He surely has not learned the canon, that poetry should never attempt to deal with minute detail:

- ' Their gases, azote, carbon, will combine  
With other substances, with flowers and grass,  
With fire and water, fish and fowl and kine,  
And countless generations as they pass.
- ' The dead become the food of living men;  
Our bread from them in part derives its hue;  
We bite their dust, inhale their oxygen,  
And are their debtors in each nerve and thew.'

*The Church and Liberties of England.* By the Rev. NEVISON LORAINÉ. (London, 1876.)

THE design of this volume is to promote the ejection of disloyal Ritualism from the Church of England. The author appears to be of the school of Dean Howson, who prefixes a commendatory introduction, and who is repaid, in a dedication, by a reference, not wanting in hardihood, to his 'unanswerable volume' on the Eastward position. The intentions of the author are evidently sincere and loyal; but he gives no evidence of any acquaintance with history or theology, beyond the more current and popular works of the last thirty years, or with the sharpness of the edge of the weapons he so freely handles.

That there is such a thing as a disloyal Ritualism, that there are priests who aim at bringing in upon us, not only mediævalism, but even the last and worst fashions of Popery, in worship and in pastoral relations, Mr. Nevison Lorainé has shown by some of his copious extracts. And so far he has done good service. Whatever else may be safe or unsafe, right or wrong, it is safe, and cannot but be right, to draw these proceedings and publications into the light of day, that their bearings on religion and on liberty may be well considered, and that Englishmen may be on their guard accordingly.

Beyond this, we cannot carry our commendations of Mr. Lorainé, or of Dean Howson, who appears to be his leader. In the first place, they recommend a method of cure by excision, without apparently caring to weigh the question, what the operation is really to be, or how it will affect the constitution of the patient. In the second place, their starting point is this (Howson, Introduction, p. xiii.), that, in the opinion of 'thoughtful' persons, the Church of England is at present 'threatened by a serious danger.' By *one* serious danger; and what is that one? Not the assaults made upon the foundations of dogma by clergymen and even dignitaries of the Church; not the unexampled extension of a radical scepticism; not the disposition to destroy the authority of the Sacred Scriptures; not the decline of morality in the highest circles of society; these are not *the* serious danger of the Church. It is to be found in the pranks and vagaries of a body of clergy, of whom we doubt whether two, or even one, hundred could be counted among the twenty-two thousand, and of whom perhaps not ten have a name known beyond the limits of their parishes. Mr. Lorainé handsomely admits (pp. 62-3) their zeal and piety, and acquits them of dishonourable intention. And he is quite right in saying that innocent intention does not give a title to immunity. Yet here, in passing, we notice cause for some reflection, if not marvel. The same stamp and school of men, who are for ever condemning the Church authorities of the last century for driving out Wesleyans (never driven out at all) because they were pious and zealous, and should have been turned to account, are equally loud in proclaiming that another set of persons, who are also pious and zealous, should be driven out now.

But this is not the main question; for we admit that there are (and in more quarters than one) both doctrines and practices

among us which cannot establish, as of right, their claim to toleration. The main question is *who* are to be ejected; and whether the Church, which still maintains its unity, is to be kept in unity or rent into many fragments. Read it! By no means, say Dean Howson and Mr. Loraine. On no account would they question the title of the old historical High Church party. Now, what is the value of the boon, thus generously tendered to those who have made the theology of the English Church? They are exhorted to sever themselves from the Ritualists, to leave the wretched men to their fate, to allow the majestic march of justice to proceed undisturbed to the accomplishment of its work. Only a few heads are to roll upon the scaffold; and then, all will be well. Such is the advice of Mr. Loraine and of Dean Howson. But what is the aim of the proceedings in the Courts which each apparently, and the Dean most explicitly, eggs on to the best of his ability? They are not aimed at any of the doctrines and practices, which Mr. Loraine sets forth as incorporating the essence of disloyal Ritualism. They are aimed especially, avowedly, and mainly at one or two usages, which in principle nearly all those clergy called High Church-men, whether practising them or not, refuse to abandon; and to one, at the least, of which, four or five thousand of them have gone so far as actually to subscribe an adhesion. So that, after all, the meaning of the injunction to separate from the Ritualists is this: allow the Ritualists to be driven out, in order that you yourself may form the tail of their departing procession.

We do not anticipate such folly among the authorities, or such light handling of the sacred duty of judicature, as is likely to result in this deplorable catastrophe, and thus to sound the knell of the Established or National Church of England. But we contemplate with painful surprise the shallow information, the short-sighted levity, and the abundant rashness of some men, who tender themselves, in a moment of danger, as advisers to the Church and Commonwealth.

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*Disestablishment; or a Defence of the Principle of a National Church.*  
By GEORGE HARWOOD, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Co.)

THE Church of England, like many other public institutions, has at times to cry out 'Save me from my friends!' Open attack brings about steady defence; whilst a defence upon wrong principles often does more eventually to cut the ground from under the thing defended than any degree of undisguised hostility. Now we have here just such an instance of unwise partisanship. Mr. Harwood defends the Establishment upon that thoroughly Erastian principle with which Dean Stanley has made us familiar, viz. that the Church is nothing more than the State in its religious aspect, and derives, therefore, all such authority as it possesses from the tacit or express *consensus* of national opinion. Such a theory destroys more than it conserves, arouses tenfold more hostility than it conciliates, and can never be successfully maintained in these days of religious



earnestness. Since the prevalence of the ideas which brought about the Reform Bill the Church of England could not stand on such terms for a single hour, and should the persuasion ever gain ground that the Church of England was nothing more than the creation of the temporal power in the way Mr. Harwood indicates, there would be an instant exodus from her which would leave her a mere shell.

Happily the writer exhibits the weakness of his principle by his constantly recurring inconsistencies with himself. He rightly rejects the fiction that, at some definite date, the State and the Church entered into a *concordat*, as full grown and mutually independent bodies. But he brings it back again by a side wind, and implies it repeatedly in many passages of his work. The necessities of his argument force him to acknowledge that the endowments were the gifts of private benefactors, who gave to some organized body capable of receiving them, and that certainly was not the State. At another time he insists with much iteration that 'the Church of England and the State of England are not now, and have never been, two separate institutions' —(p. 90). Now this is true in one sense, false in another. The Catholic Church of Christ is far older than the State of England, and when it came to these Isles under the leadership of Augustine (we neglect the earlier British Church for the moment), it came in a state of completeness. Into what does Mr. Harwood imagine that Ethelbert and his thanes were baptized, if not into the Catholic Church? But the establishment *grew* by slow degrees with the growth of the nation. It was never *made* by a legislative act; but it was recognized as existing in innumerable phrases of the lay legislature. The present writer does not know, or refuses to recognize what the Church is. Although he devotes an entire Chapter (IV.) to the question, What is a National Church? his definitions are inaccurate, and do not cover the whole ground. The Church is not, except, incidentally, 'a spiritual brotherhood of those who hold the same faith.' That is the Congregational idea. Neither is it 'an outward organisation for religious purposes'—*merely*. That is the Erastian idea, and it makes the Church a body without a soul. The Church of England is that part of the Catholic Church which exists in England, and the Catholic Church was founded by Christ. And to talk, as Mr. Harwood does, of the Church, that if all the bishops and clergy were to leave it to the last unit, the State would just appoint some more, and then all would go on as before, is worse than a mistake, and if believed would do the Church of England more harm than a dozen treatises in defence of its establishment would do good. This kind of tone may reflect very well the talk of certain circles. There is an almost ostentatious disavowal of enthusiasm, a sort of know-the-world and common-sense kind of air which may go down with some classes of mind. We cannot say it approves itself to us.

On the other hand, the book is clearly the production of a very able man, as no one can doubt who heard him speak at the Bath Congress of 1873; extremely well intentioned and loyal; fairly, though not thoroughly informed upon the matters at issue; and with a certain unconventionality of phrase and style, which is not without

its charm. To correct all the errors, however, in the historical portion of the book, would take us too long. The writer thinks that it was the Bishops who prompted the strict measures for uniformity passed at the Restoration ; whereas it was the lay legislature—(p. 84). He appears to think that it was Charles II., instead of James II., who issued the declaration of indulgence—(p. 85).

There is an odd blunder too on p. 90, where Swift is represented as saying that Christianity had ceased to be a subject of inquiry, because every one knew it to be fictitious. Now, we cannot find that Swift ever said any such thing ; and we strongly suspect that the passage has been transferred in a mutilated state from the Advertisement to the first edition of Bishop Butler's *Analogy*, published in 1786, where any one may read it.

We must not, however, give the impression that Mr. Harwood is always going wrong. He often writes sensibly and with considerable force and power. We will give a short specimen of his style, in the sentiment of which we entirely agree :

‘ Undoubtedly many causes have helped to bring this about ; amongst the most probable may be named the increased quickness, and consequently the increased shallowness, of life generally ; the lamentably excessive attention to newspapers and other transient literature, which not only neither stores nor strengthens the mind, but also does it great positive injury by rendering it averse to, and incapable of, sustained and concentrated thought ; the undoubtedly materialistic tone of the age, which makes it grossly exaggerate the importance of those practical utilities which, though seen, are temporal, and blinds it to the greatness of those deep principles which, though unseen, are the only things which are real and eternal ; and last, and probably the most effective cause of all, must be included the altered character of our political condition, which has placed our destinies largely in the hands of those who neither care for principles nor understand arguments, but are chiefly led by impulses’—(p. 141.)

We shall hope to meet with Mr. Harwood again ; but we cannot endorse the principle upon which his advocacy is conducted in the present case.

*Infant Baptism and Confirmation.* Two Sermons preached in Salisbury Cathedral, by GEORGE MOBERLY, D.C.L., Bishop of the Diocese. (London : Rivingtons.)

IN these sermons Bishop Moberly desires to enforce the fact that in the thorough realisation of the doctrine of Baptism as the consecration to a particular life and work, and the refreshing and invigorating that consciousness by means of the preparation for Confirmation and first Communion, lies the secret of binding young people with hearty conviction to the Church. As it is, we fear they are often lost to us *between the two points*. It is a most laborious work, doubtless, to keep up a personal and individual knowledge of every child in the flock. But it is emphatically *that*, and no other, which is the *pastoral* work. ‘ If,’ says the Bishop, ‘ the clergy would regularly use the “religious hour” of the day in personally superin-

tending or giving religious instruction in the day school, and take advantage of their great opportunities in the Sunday school ; if they would regard, as they often do, and still more often might do, all the children as their baptized little ones, gradually qualifying for Confirmation, catechizing them regularly and carefully in church,' then he thinks the ill-effects of the Education Act might be well nigh neutralised ; and so think we ; and, furthermore, that we should stop a certain leakage of our children to various forms of Dissent, which goes on between the school age and that of seventeen or eighteen.

His argument in Sermon II. for the primitive observance of Infant Baptism is to be noticed.

*Church or Dissent.* An Appeal to Holy Scripture. Addressed to Dissenters. By T. P. GARNIER, M.A., Rector of Cranworth with Southburgh, Norfolk, and late Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (London : J. Hodges, 1876.)

WE have never seen a book better calculated to loosen the hold which Dissent may have upon a candid mind than this of Mr. Garnier's. It is thorough, it is straightforward, it goes throughout upon Holy Scripture ; and yet, though honestly and faithfully treating Dissent and schism as *sins*, it is calm, temperate, and loving. Clergymen will do well to buy and study it, and, wherever possible, to get Dissenters to do so. It is arranged in three parts, of which Part I. deals with what the Bible says about Dissent ; Part II. with common Dissenting objections against the Church ; Part III. with Dissenting pleas in favour of their own system—or rather no-system. And there is an appendix, which takes up a not unimportant argument from experience—namely, that whereas when a separatist body decays, it shows no inherent power of revival, it is otherwise with the Church. The Church's history is a history of ever-repeated revivals, and every revival has been not merely a return to the old standard, but the starting-point for new progress. The volume should be welcomed and valued.

*Evening Communion: the Argument against them briefly stated.* By Canon ASHWELL. (London : Skeffington, 1876.)

WE name this pamphlet to our readers along with Mr. Garnier's book as being of what one may call the thoroughly *useful* class of publications ; by which we mean such as put just the facts and arguments which are really wanted for the purpose of persuasion in a way likely to persuade. We know of cases of evening Communion which have been discontinued in consequence of a perusal of this pamphlet.

*The Exodus and the Wanderings in the Wilderness.* By the Rev. Dr. EDERSHEIM. Author of 'The World before the Flood,' &c. (London : Religious Tract Society.)

THIS is another of Dr. Edersheim's useful volumes, illustrative of the Old Testament. The facts of history and archæology which he has

so carefully popularised, remind us forcibly how much they have done for the elucidation, and even for the corroboration, of the Biblical narratives, and for the establishment of their points of junction with the annals of neighbouring nations. Had Dr. Colenso waited until now, his attack upon the Pentateuch could hardly have been made; and to the same set of causes we must probably attribute the obscurity into which it seems to have fallen. We cannot quite make out who is Dr. Edersheim's authority in Egyptology, since, contrary to his custom, he has omitted in several instances to give his references. But our *impression* is that he is somewhat too easy in his first chapter, in accepting statements that are picturesque. But we cannot be sure, for the reason we have stated. And he does not appear to have made any use of Ewald.

Taken as a whole, the book is calculated to be especially useful. Almost all Bible students will be able to learn something from it, and the young will probably gain an entirely new light upon the pages of the Scriptures.

We notice that Dr. Edersheim talks of 'papyri.' Would it not have been as well to explain what they were?

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*Three Hymns, with Plain-Song Melodies and accompanying Harmonies for the Organ.* Edited by the Rev. ERNEST GELDART. (London: Joseph Masters & Co.)

THE last two of these Hymns will be found useful in churches where the music of the choral celebrations is Gregorian. The first of the three will, we should fear, scarcely attain to as much popularity, the fact being that it is a very difficult thing for a procession to move, with anything like evenness and dignity, to an unbarred melody. The whole of the three show tokens of careful editing, and though we should be inclined to consider the treatment of the 'Ave Verum' as the most successful, the harmonies of both the others give ample proof of having been subjected to a supervision at once reverent and musicianly.

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#### A CORRECTION.

WE are informed by Dr. Pusey that he knows that the person alluded to on page 289, line 24, of our April Number, is NOT the author of *Supernatural Religion*.

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